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In early modern England, colour was both a material and a textual preoccupation. However, the polychromatic palette that surrounded English men and women, and the particoloured palette of early modern writers, has thus far received little scholarly attention. This thesis rethinks the culture of colour in England between *c.* 1580 and *c.* 1660 to stimulate and enhance critical appreciation of colour in early modern literature. In contradistinction to the monochromatic trend of current cultural histories and early modern research, in this thesis I analyse all colours, situating these within their original socio-cultural contexts to substantiate the significance of colour in a literary text. My contextualised and polychromatic colour-concern offers an alternative method to traditional quantitative or symbolic approaches to colour in literature, as it takes into consideration how colour was experienced during an era that was attentive both to the material qualities and textual existence of colour. This thesis explores five "colourscapes," which include the workplace, household, Church, New World, and theatre, in order to finesse connections between colourful environs and attendant colour-configurations in early modern English literature. Attending to rhetorical instantiations of colour, and to the lived experience of colour as manifested in literature, this thesis offers an analytical lens through which early modern scholars, and literary scholars alike, can approach colour in literature.

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Note on Modernisation and Referencing

The titles of all early modern sources have been capitalised throughout, and to enable ready comprehension, the letters u/v, i/j, f/s, and i/j have been transliterated where necessary.

Bible quotations have been taken from the Geneva Bible throughout, unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction: An Early Modern Colour Index

Tyrian purple, drawn out of shellfish, madder red from a root, and cochineal from a female insect that calls the cactus its home: in the past, the colours that were seen held their own unique narratives, scripted by nature.[1] Today, over 4,000 synthetic dyes are readily available for industries to use (Ball 36), over 2,000 colours of commercial paint are available "at the touch of a button" (Batchelor, *Chromophobia* 104), and Edward Forbes' pigment collection, held at Harvard Art Museum, contains over 2,500 samples to peruse.[2] Because of this immense variety, colour's value has depreciated, and today's colour choices are determined by whim and preference rather than cost and availability (Batchelor, *The Luminous* 35-37). It is difficult to imagine a time when accessing and procuring a range of hues was a genuine challenge; a task that required an in-depth knowledge of colour sources, a task that was physically demanding, and a task that was shaped by a kaleidoscope of factors, such as where one lived, one's wealth and status, the political and economic current, and, quite simply, whether a colour source had even been discovered.[3] For early moderns across Europe, the substance of colour was not to be taken for granted, nor were the objects to which colour was applied.[4] Despite this, early modern

[1] For colour narratives, see Meloy 12-13.

[2] Today, the *Colour Index International* contains 9,000 pages of industrially produced colourants, colourants which are catalogued by "hue, use and a number" (Ball 381).

[3] At the Cumberland Art Gallery, a painting of Charles I by William Dobson (*c.* 1642-46) is captioned with the following description: "Thin paint and the overall portrait size suggest that the artist struggled to find painting materials during this period of unrest". Visited 24 Mar. 2017.

[4] So much so, in fact, that colour was treated as the medium and the subject of one of Peter Paul Rubens' paintings, *La découverte de la pourpre*, ("The discovery of purple"), painted in *c.*1636 in Antwerp (Donovan). This painting may have been viewed by English audiences, for Lord and Lady Cavendish married in 1645 and lived in an estate owned by Rubens (Stevenson and Davidson 302), both renting Rubens' house in Antwerp from Rubens' widow

studies has overlooked colour; it has overlooked colour as a material fixation of early moderns, and it has underestimated colour as an investment of writers' ink in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Significantly, early modern scholars *have* thought about colour. Many studies of the period include details of colour; include quotations that contain colour; or use colourful visuals. Indeed, many of the examples quoted in this thesis were gleaned from reading the existing research of early modern scholars. Despite their ubiquity, these references to colour remain precisely that – references – rather than the subject of an individual and focused study. Yet colour is a subject that unites so many of the disparate strands of early modern scholarship, whether that be research on cosmetics, science, medicine, art, writing, the materiality of books, conflicts, the theatre, foodstuffs, religion, clothing, childhood – there are indeed endless examples.[5] In these studies, colour is present, and colour is a common curiosity, but colour has remained insufficiently explored. What has been presented in early modern studies to date is a limited colour palette, and so limited, in fact, that only two colours have received considerable scholarly attention: black and green. A neglect of the wider colour palette is certainly an oversight, particularly in relation to early modern English literature and culture, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were nothing short of crucial for how they advanced English colour-conceptions. This era, for example, provided us with the three primary colours of red, blue, and yellow, still recognised today (Ball 40; Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 14), instigated the expression of a "white lie," which has only recently been antedated, and of course, changed how the world understood the phenomenon of colour, as Isaac Newton

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when Charles I was deposed. There is a picture painted by Rubens of the couple in Rubens' garden in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.

[5] Gail Kern Paster, for example, discusses how for "the trained uroscopist, urines came in a rainbow of twenty or twenty-one colours" (42), and Marguerite Tassi describes theatres as "essentially painted worlds" (21).

connected light with colour in 1665 (Pastoureau, *Black* 144; "White lie"; Thompson 7).[6] As well as major shifts in colour-understanding, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought an influx of new colour sources to early modern England, which changed the chromatic texture of daily life.[7]

Significantly, there is a palpable colour attentiveness in early modern textual sources, which chronicle both personal and collective preoccupation with colour. The recent publication of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* in the form of an adult colouring book has uncovered that English men and women in the seventeenth century also approached Drayton's printed poem, with its accompanying maps, as a text to colour-in (*Poly-Olbion*). In the printed version of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones's first collaborative masque, *The Masque of Blackness* (performed in Whitehall in 1605), the oceanic setting included the source of Tyrian purple – "*murex shells*" (2: 43) – as stage properties, used to contain candles (Simpson and Bell 12).[8] The inclusion of murex shells in Jonson's recollection of the masque performance highlights his own conversance with colour's materiality, but it also sheds light on the value placed on colour in the period as these shells were deemed valuable enough to be used in a performance designed for the royal court. Just as colour was visually significant in early modern culture, it had a textual presence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the memoirs left to her son, Lady

[6] For a discussion of Newton's understanding of colour, see Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 15, 24, 134-35; *Colour in Art* 18; B. Smith, *The Key* 5; and Bomford and Roy 61.

[7] Nomenclature of new shades in Elizabethan England included "Pepper, tobacco, sea-green, and puke" (Gurr, *The Shakespearean* 241). The availability of colours is examined in chapter four of this thesis.

[8] All Ben Jonson quotations included in this thesis have been sourced from the multivolume edited collection, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* (2012) and refer specifically to the volume and line number(s).

Ann Fanshawe recalls her first encounter with Tyrian purple during her travels to Granada with her husband, which took place around 1650:[9]

> Here I was shewed, in the midst of an exceeding large piece of rich imbrodery made by the Moores of Granada, in the middle, as long as half a yard of the true Teyrian dey, which is so glorious a colour that it cannot be expressed. It hath the glory of scarlet, the beauty of purple, and is so bright that when the eye is removed upon any other object it seems white as snow. (Loftis 128)

Seeing Tyrian purple for the first time was a significant moment for Fanshawe, so significant that she remembers the encounter; so significant that she attempts to recollect the exacting details of the encounter; and so significant that she attempts to express the experience of the colour for her imagined reader – her son – believing that he, too, will find the account extraordinary. Even into the late-seventeenth century, when Fanshawe penned her memoirs, colour continued to be a source of pleasure, fascination, and wonder for English men and women alike.

These examples illuminate how colour meant something different to early modern people than it does to today's society – even if some colour-practices have continued – as the accessibility of colour and the ability to replicate colours in nature, or to manufacture colours not seen in nature synthetically, has culturally depreciated colour, and has subsequently depreciated our understanding of how other cultures in other times and in other places perceived colour.[10] Indeed, this depreciation is evidenced in one of the world's main heritage

[9] For the approximate date of this experience, see Holloway and Wray 1387.

[10] These differing perceptions of colour are attributed to a tale of two purples: the wondrous, elevated, Tyrian purple, and the equally unexpected mauve, "a man-made chemical wonder," produced by William Perkin, which "ushered in the democratization of colour in the nineteenth century" (St Clair 159).

attractions for experiencing a glimpse of life in early modern England – Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon. In the past, Shakespeare's Birthplace was presented with a palette of predominately white, providing visitors with the impression of an interior not only temporally removed, but chromatically backward. It was not until 2000 that a recognition of colour's prominence and importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emerged in reproductions of material culture, and in her study, *Colour Travels Through the Paintbox* (2003), Victoria Finlay describes the chromatic-transformation that took place at Shakespeare's Birthplace as a result:

> In 2000 it was redecorated – from an arrangement of white walls . . . to an attempt to reproduce in an authentic way what Shakespeare actually grew up with in the sixteenth century . . . coloured in ochre reds and yellows, lime white and soot . . . in astonishingly bright greens and oranges, as was the fashion of the time. . . . (22-23)

What Finlay has described is a recognition of the polychromous world which Shakespeare and his contemporaries inhabited. To date, however, early modern scholars have left this colour to walls and curtains and to reconstructions of "original practice" in theatres, neglecting to consider colour, and specifically the lived experience of colour, as detailed in early modern literature in a sustained and encompassing manner. It is to this partly-coloured portrait of a parti-coloured early modern England that this thesis responds as it uses written sources to enhance an appreciation of the total colour palette of lived experience in the period, and at the same time to enrich current understanding of colour in early modern English literature.

As this thesis rethinks the early modern culture of colour, it reveals that for early modern English men and women, colour was considered a significant medium and subject, worthy of being noted, and notable enough to merit great expense and travel as much as judgement and condemnation. People connected with colour and people responded to colour

in the period, and the written responses explored in this thesis reveal that colour has been both undervalued as a sensuous experience of daily life in early modern England and undervalued as a textual preoccupation of its writers. As it does so, this study makes a case for colour: it makes a case for early modern scholars to be more attentive to colour in early modern literature; and it makes a case for scholarship to critically engage with colour in literature in general.

The Colourful Past

In David Batchelor's study *Chromophobia* (2000), he argues that "in the West, since Antiquity, colour has been systematically marginalized, reviled, diminished and degraded" (22), treated as "superficial," "supplementary," and "sinister" (23). Whether or not this is a fair assessment, there is certainly evidence that attitudes to colour have tinged attitudes to involvement in colour scholarship.[11] In an essay entitled, "Language, Colour and the Enigma of Everydayness" (2001), Michael Sheringham expresses that "Physically, chemically, functionally, color is a side effect rather than the main point" (51), positing that colour antedates its own devaluation by the very nature of its existence. An investigation into current research undertaken on colour reveals that Sheringham's overview is particularly poignant for literary studies; for in literary criticism to date, there is a tendency not to read colour. In literary studies, colour is on the side lines, not the main event; it is merely a footnote, if mentioned at all – as Susan Harrow has described the situation, colour in literature is nothing short of a "blind spot" in colour-studies ("Reading"). However, in recent years, there has been a nascent desire to address this "blind

[11] In his study, *The Colours of Our Memories* (2012), colour historian, Michel Pastoureau, recalls how his PhD research into heraldic colours was confronted with passive resistance in the mid-seventies, even from individuals working in disciplines one would have thought most likely to be engaged with colour-issues, including art historians and archaeologists (74-76). Colour, Pastoureau explains, was viewed as an "individualistic," and even "indecent" study because colour is material, appealing to the senses, and not considered intellectual enough for sustained scholarly engagement (75, 77).

spot," as a 2015 "Colour in Literature" workshop I attended at the Freie Universität in Berlin discussed different ways via which scholars can engage with literary instances of colour.[12] More recently, a desire to study colour in literature has been articulated within early modern studies. At the 2016 World Shakespeare Congress at Stratford-Upon-Avon and London, I attended a seminar on "Shakespeare in Colour," which sought to uncover the importance of colour in Shakespeare's works and for the society in which he lived. Although gaining significance, the pervasive reticence to treat colour as a legitimate subject for in-depth analysis has meant that literary scholarship – including early modern studies – is only at the beginnings of colour exploration.

In addition to attitudes, a reticence to undertake literary study of colour is pre-empted in Ann Fanshawe's recollection, as she explains that Tyrian purple "is so glorious a colour that it *cannot be expressed*" (emphasis added). Fanshawe's incapacitation in relation to colour description is symptomatic of the relationship between colour and language, as colour and words are not natural bedfellows. "Seeing comes before words," the now so-familiar dictum of John Berger is a useful means of considering colour, but colour is not just a case of visual-verbal order – seeing colour does not require that one use language (Batchelor, *The Luminous* 13; B. Smith, *The Key* 5; Harvey 12). Colour is a sensory reality for most people, but it is an

[12] The attendees of this workshop revealed that in French literary studies, there is an exponential rise in colour research, especially in relation to French literature of the nineteenth through to the twenty-first centuries. Papers included: "N'est-elle pas bleue? – les couleurs de'léau naturelle dans la prose Françoise préromantique"; "The Anthropology of Colour"; "Flesh tones – Colour in Motion. Reading the Incarnate in *La invenci n de Morel*"; "Extracting Colours from a Text'; 'The Curious Case of the Colored Vowel"; "Synaesthesia, Creativity, (Non)sense"; "Étudier la couleur dans *À la recherche du temps perdu*: enjeux méthodologiques, esthétiques, stylistiques"; and "Fonctions élémentaires de la couleur dans le texte littéraire: l'exemple des réécritures de Rétif de la Bretonne". I presented a paper titled, "Colour and its Context: William Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*".

extralinguistic reality, and there are too many hues around us to be able to articulate or even differentiate them all (Meloy 228; Gage, *Colour and Culture* 10). This inability to articulate colour is even described by Gloucester in William Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI* (*c.*1590-91): "Sight may distinguish of colours, but suddenly to nominate them / all, it is impossible" (2.1.871).[13] Colours present nothing short of a verbal challenge to the viewer, and colour spectators are met with linguistic resistance as they attempt to capture their colour experience, or even with what Susan Harrow describes as "verbal vertigo," where words stumble and can fall short of the sight and spectacle of colour ("Working").[14] Indeed, to describe Tyrian purple, Fanshawe defaults to defining its visual quality using comparison, describing the novel colour in relation to her previous experience of other hues: "It hath the glory of scarlet, the beauty of purple, and is so bright that when the eye is removed upon any other object it seems white as snow". Not without cause, therefore, colour has been described as "something of a problem" and a "problem" that "remains to be solved" (Batchelor, *Colour* 18; Gauguin 47).

As a subjective quality of perception and a phenomenon that is not easily understood, quantified, or verbally explained, colour invites trepidation in all disciplines. Yet it appears that not all disciplines are as reticent as literary studies to engage with colour. Though John Gage, an art historian and the pioneering figure in colour scholarship, once pronounced the colour researcher as methodologically indigent ("Color" 518), in recent years, colour has been receiving critical attention from a wide range of disciplines, a range reflective of how colour "spills over subjects and seeps between disciplines" (Batchelor, *Colour* 15). As edited collections such as *New Directions for Colour Studies* (2011) and *Colour Studies: A Broad*

[13] All Shakespeare quotations used in this thesis are sourced from *The Norton Shakespeare* (2008).

[14] For one's inability to express colour, see Meloy 7; Batchelor, *The Luminous* 14, 31 and *Colour* 18-9; and Hardin xxi, 132.

Spectrum (2014), and research gatherings including the "Glasgow Colour Studies Group" highlight, colour is drawing increasing scholarly attention. Indeed, to date, colour has been considered in areas as diverse as science, psychology, aesthetics, philosophy, linguistics, archaeology, ecocriticism, anthropology, art history, and cultural studies.[15] Whereas colour has maintained a long-standing history of examination in the sciences as part of the mechanics of vision, the initial study of colour in relation to culture was undertaken in Berlin Brent and Paul Kay's study, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (1969). In this study, Brent and Kay argued for a hierarchy of eleven "basic" colour terms and provided evidence for how these terms evolved in different languages in the same order across different cultures (1-2; Batchelor, *Chromophobia* 87; St Clair 34-35). Colour scholarship since Brent and Kay's study has been reticent to engage in such universal colour-hypotheses, and this reticence has been voiced by philosophers, anthropologists, art historians, and cultural historians, who consistently stress that social and cultural ideas of colour influence how one perceives of colour.[16] Foremost in this regard is John Gage, who has outlined the historical and cultural specificity of colour in his two studies, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (1993) and *Colour and Meaning: Art, Science and Symbolism*

[15] There are salient individual studies of colour from several of these disciplines. For the sciences, see Tilley; Hunt and Pointer; Kuehni; Christie; and Elliot, Fairchild, and Franklin. For anthropology, see Meloy; while for philosophy, see Hardin; Melville; and Stroud. In relation to ecocriticism, see Cohen.

[16] The philosopher, Stephen Melville, has described colour as "Subjective and objective, physically fixed and culturally constructed" (45). Similarly, the anthropologist, Ellen Meloy, explains that when "we utter a term for color, it is not the color's immutable property, it is the name of a *perception*. In the hands of language and culture, simple chromatic sensations acquire a kaleidoscope of reference and meaning" (11). For further examples of scholars who explore the connection between colour and culture, see Eco; Batchelor, *Chromophobia* 94; Dant 13; and Slack and Hristova 1-21.

(1999).[17] Gage positions himself as a restorer, aiming to "expose and explore the historicity of colour" and urges other researchers to do the same (*Colour and Meaning* 8). This exposé is undertaken via the materiality of colour, as Gage both argues and models that "colour must be experienced concretely in artefacts" (*Colour and Meaning* 66). Gage also directs researchers to attend to textual sources, insisting they "must draw, not simply on the surviving monuments, but also on a wide range of contemporary writing: imaginative, philosophical, scientific, and above all, technical" (*Colour and Meaning* 67). Although Gage maintains that colour has "a vivid life outside of the realm of art (*Colour and Meaning* 9), his studies present a sustained concentration on artists' understandings of colour, and indeed, have precipitated a similar engagement with the relationship between colour and artists.[18]

In recent years, there have been many studies that have both pre-empted and responded to Gage's insights as they present historical and cultural analyses of colour. These studies of colour have been connected specifically to the historicity of painting and dyeing, and central to their investigations has been the substance of colour – the source of colour, the handling of colour, and the practice of colouring across historical periods. Salient examples include Franco Brunello's *Art of Dyeing in the History of Mankind* (1975); Ralph Mayer's *The Artist's Handbook of Materials and Techniques* (1991); François Delamare and Bernard Guineau's *Colour: Making and Using Dyes and Pigments* (1999); Philip Ball's *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour* (2001); David Bomford and Ashok Roy's *A Closer Look: Colour* (2009);

[17] Gage's emphasis on colour's historical and cultural contingency is especially prevalent in *Colour and Meaning* 8, 11, 43.

[18] Indeed, his most recent study, *Colour in Art* (2006), concentrates on visual art, offering contemplations of artists' practices throughout history. Comparable for its focus on artists is David Batchelor's *Colour: Documents of Contemporary Art* (2008), which explores the subject of colour via an anthology of the writings of practising artists such as Wassily Kandinsky, Henri Matisse, and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Victoria Finlay's *Colour Travels Through the Paintbox* (2002), and *The Brilliant History of Color in Art* (2014); Mark Clarke, Philip Ball, and Carinna Parraman's *Colour in the Making: From Old Wisdom to New Brilliance* (2013); and most recently, Kassia St Clair's *The Secret Lives of Colour* (2016); and Patrick Baty's *The Anatomy of Colour: The Story of Heritage Paints and Pigments* (2017). The substance of colour in these studies is repeatedly prioritised over the individuals throughout history who used these pigments and dyes.

An understanding of colour's relationship to culture has also prompted several explorations into the representation of single colours throughout history. Foremost in this regard is colour historian, Michel Pastoureau, who has written individual social, cultural, and symbolic histories on blue (2001), black (2009), green (2014), and red (2017), with an upcoming study on yellow to follow suit (Pastoureau, *Red* 7). Other instances of cultural histories of individual colours include Barbara Nemitz's *Pink: The Exposed Color in Contemporary Art and Culture* (2006), which considers pink's connotations in Eastern and Western cultures; and John Harvey's *Men in Black* (1997), and *The Story of Black* (2013), both of which draw on visuals as they explore the history of these colours in Western culture, especially in relation to its art and fashion. There have been several studies that have focused on the history of a sole colour source, rather than a single colour, including Robert Chenciner's *Madder Red: A History of Luxury and Trade* (2000), Amy Butler Greenfield's *A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage and the Quest for the Colour of Desire* (2005), and Jenny Balfour-Paul's *Indigo: Egyptian Mummies to Blue Jeans* (2011). Although each of these studies, bar Nemitz's, considers colour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their investigations are presented through a European lens, and as part of a diachronic investigation, rather than specific to England or the early modern period.

Despite the exponential trend in scholarship in relation to prismatics, colour, as conceived in the Renaissance, and in its literature, has only begun to emerge from the shadows.

The materiality of colour in the early modern period specifically has been considered in, for example, Marcia B. Hall's *Colour and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting* (1994); and R. D. Harley's *The Artists' Pigments c.1600-1835: A Study in English Documentary Sources* (2001), two studies that concentrate on available colours, the application of these colours, and the potential meanings of these colours. The substance of colour is also under spotlight in the edited collections, *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700* (2010); *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (2010); and *The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400-1800* (2012), which provide transcultural studies of the political and economic networks surrounding colour. The most recent material exploration of colour is the edited volume *Early Modern Color Worlds* (2015) that positions itself equally within the history of colour and the history of science (1). Engaging with the years *c.* 1550 until *c.* 1650, *Early Modern Color Worlds* maintains a triadic approach of exploring practices, ideas, and objects (15) as it considers different "color worlds," defined as differing domains of colour understanding (15, 19) as maintained by painters, natural philosophers, or mathematicians, for example. The primary aim of this study is to see how these different "color worlds" engaged in interdisciplinary colour-practices, interacting across the distinctive realms of science and craft, as well as how these practices relate to underlying colour-concepts such as primary colours, and colour-mixing (11). These studies on the substance of colour have tended, however, to concentrate on the relationship between pigments and artists, or between coloured materials and colour theory or optics, rather than considering how early moderns more generally related to the substance of colour.

Examinations of colour in early modern studies have mainly paralleled the monochromatic approach undertaken by cultural historians. Although there are a few anomalies to the paradigm, it is apparent that two colours have dominated literary explorations

of colour: black and green.[19] In light of the importance of postcolonial thought, black has been the most salient colour in early modern scholarship to date. Foremost in this regard is Kim F. Hall's *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (1995), which weaves together a material and ideological approach as Hall reveals how race, economics, sexuality, and nationalism contributed to early modern conceptions of blackness. Black is also the subject of Margoux Deroux's essay, "The Blackness Within: Early Modern Color-Concept, Physiology and Aaron the Moor in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*" (2010), an essay that connects blackness to race, the earth, black bile and its subsequent humoral passions of melancholy and anger. The two essays that concentrate on colour in early modern England within the edited collection, *The Materiality of Color*, both investigate black. Richard Blunt explores the changing use of blackface on the stage, explaining that blackface was used initially as a visual shorthand for "evil," but from the 1580s onwards, it was utilised for "Moorish characters," including Othello (217-18). Likewise, Mitchell Harris's essay investigates the use of black in terms of the ink that penned Shakespeare's sonnets, drawing material connections between this ink, the body, and poetry (67). John Harvey's *The Story of Black* contains three chapters that investigate black in the Renaissance, entitled, "Two Artists in black," "Black Choler," and "Servitude and Négritude". As these titles suggest, Harvey's focus is art, medicine, and race. More recently, two papers from the seminar, "Shakespeare in

[19] The few examples that look beyond green and black tend to concentrate on yellow. Instances include Giese's essay, "Malvolio's Yellow Stockings: Coding Illicit Sexuality in Early Modern London" (2006), and articles from a special issue of the French journal *E-rea*, entitled "The Dyer's Hand": Colours in Early Modern England", published in Autumn 2015. Contributions to this journal include Helen Hickey's "Medical Diagnosis and the Colour Yellow in Early Modern England"; Anita Butler's "Pink Stockings, Yellow Stockings: the Use of Pink-Yellow in Marston and Shakespeare"; and Olivia Coulomb's "Polychrome sculptures in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Winter's Tale*". However, most of these articles consider either black or green. See, for example, Constantini-Cornede; Oki-Siekierczak; Schütz; and Connolly and Hopkins.

Colour", held at the 2016 World Shakespeare Congress, both interrogated racial discourse through the colour black. These included Evelyn Gajowski's "Black and White and Red All Over in *The Tragedy of Mariam*" and Camillia Caporicci's "Fairness and Darkness in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*". Collectively, these studies on black reveal a current concentration on colour and race and on the effects of colour on physiological functions in early modern literature and culture. With its connections to race and ubiquitous presence in early modern literature (K. Hall 11), black has been both an imperative and the most obvious starting point for studies of colour. This emphasis on black has had direct ramifications for how scholars view "colour" as a locus of study, as the term is commonly treated as synonymous with race.[20] Yet there are many more colours that were prevalent in early modern literature and culture, which remain to be brought into view.

Green has also been privileged in early modern scholarship to date, and there are two prominent cultural studies of this colour: Bruce R. Smith's *Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (2009) and Leah Knight's *Reading Green in Early Modern England* (2014). Smith explains that his study has been prompted by the "commonness of green in English culture" (3), and he promotes the centrality of green to colour theory, painting, acoustic experience, and alchemy, amongst other aspects of Renaissance culture. Smith defines green primarily as a matter of sensation and emotion, and this has repercussions for how he approaches green in his study, and for the primary sources he engages with, which are predominantly scientific, philosophical, medical, and ethical. Smith uses "historical phenomenology" to consider green (28), a method that progresses the phenomenology of philosophers such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Edward Husserl but is described as

[20] This assessment has been founded on my own experience of discussing my doctoral thesis. Often, the first question I am asked when I share my subject of "colour" is whether I focus on race.

"historically relative and politically aware" (8). Smith outlines that "thinking color . . . was a whole-body experience" (3) and uses green as his "key" to unlocking an immersion in the Renaissance's embodied means of sensing, cognition, and emotional experience (3). What happens, he asks, if we "put on Wright's green spectacles? If we set in place a green filter between our eyes and what we tell ourselves we are seeing?" (41). As Gina Bloom explains, Smith's study is "less a color than it is a symbol for a mode of perception and engagement" (273), as green is defined as a midpoint between reason and passion.[21] As Smith makes a distinction between "green as a quality that objects possess" (11) and a "green thought" (12), only a small portion of Smith's study is dedicated to coloured materials: a single chapter on "Green stuff".

Smith's emphasis on an altered vision is also presented in Leah Knight's *Reading Green in Early Modern England* as she argues that early moderns "read textuality itself through a filter of green" (17).[22] Knight's study is interested in the material and figurative dimensions of green as she explores, via early modern literature, cultural interest in "green, greenness, greenery, verdure, and vegetation" (5) and how books had a direct connection with early moderns' green surroundings.[23] Her study pivots around the concept of "impressions": of how early moderns were impressed by nature, seeing green and breathing-in green, and equally sought to leave impressions on the natural world around them (6), as Orphic poets believed

[21] This equilibrium state is described as "middling thoughtfulness" (98), which is green in colour. Smith presents a table that compares how different writers are positioned on a spectrum between rationalism and passion with their correlating colours between black and white (99).

[22] Knight highlights, for example, that early modern readers often wore green spectacles because they were considered a salubrious means of easing eyestrain (9).

[23] Knight maintains that books were viewed as green spaces, "appropriating an atmosphere of verdure" (36), and that lyric poems could provide an "'artificial ayre'" (52).

they could influence the materiality of the natural world (64-65, 137). The sum of Knight's and Smith's studies would suggest that green was a colour with a uniquely ascendant identity in early modern England, and yet, early moderns were captivated by a wide range of colours, as the new shades discussed above and Ann Fanshawe's account intimates. With its distinctive focus on either black or green, the existing colour palette of early modern studies requires more hues.

The most recent exploration of colour in early modern England has progressed beyond the hues of green and black. Brid Phillips' thesis on "Colour in (E)motion: Emotion, Affect and Colour in the Drama of William Shakespeare," defended in 2017, argues that colour was used in William Shakespeare's plays as a means through which the playwright stirred emotions. Phillips contextualises colour through humoral theory, physiognomy, and material and visual culture to argue that Shakespeare's colour-words evoke emotional connection and emotional reaction from readers. As Phillips contends that colour was primarily a shorthand for representations of the passions, colour is imbricated with early modern physiological functions. Yet Shakespeare's repertoire uses colour-words and colour-descriptions in ways that could not be defined as solely emotional signifiers. In *Henry V* (1599), for example, Orléans describes Bourbon's horse as "of the colour of the nutmeg" (3.7.18), evoking England's access to new spices; while in *Antony and Cleopatra* (*c.* 1606-07), Cleopatra is preoccupied with the colour of Octavia's hair (2.5.114-15; 3.4.31). Although Cleopatra's absorption in Octavia's hair colour does highlight her jealousy, it simultaneously gestures to the appearance of the boy actor performing Octavia. It is also important to recognise that Shakespeare was not the only writer

in the period to draw on colour, as numerous writers engage with a variety of hues and tints across this study's chapters.[24]

As investigations into singular colours predominate colour studies, what is required is an exploration of colour as a total spectrum. While the history of colour-theories, colour-optics, colour-symbolism, and the substance of colour have been frequently investigated in colour-enquiries, neglected to date is the lived experience of colour. Existing colour studies privilege the perspectives of scientists, philosophers, and artists; those individuals who specifically study colour. Likewise, when colour in early modern literature has been explored, it has privileged the writings of those concerned with medical, scientific, and physiological conceptions of colour. Yet, as Pastoureau explains, "poets and dyers have at least as much to teach us as the painters, chemists, and physicists" (*Red* 10). Colour is a sensory experience that preoccupied people and writers in early modern England more generally. Current studies of individual colours – both in cultural studies and in early modern scholarship – have not recognised the centrality of colour as a physical and a pervasive presence in early modern England, thereby neglecting to recognise the powerful and intimate connection between colour and early moderns in general; a connection that had direct implications for how colour was understood, described, and represented in the period's literature.

Colour Scheme

As I use literature to investigate how early modern English men and women both connected with and responded to colour, the traditional methods of studying colour in literature of a strictly symbolic approach or of a quantitative approach are both limiting.[25] Despite the impulse

[24] In Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), for instance, there is a description of eyes that "glared and burnt blue like brimstone and aqua vitae set on fire in an eggshell" (354).

[25] See, for example, Pleij 29-30.

to contextually situate colour in colour studies, and indeed, to historically and culturally situate literature in Renaissance criticism and literary criticism more generally, current approaches to colour in literature have tended to eschew this imperative.[26] Quantitative attention to colour does not situate colour, it attends to the what question – what colour and how often, but not the where, nor the why, nor the how. This kind of approach is to be treated with reticence because of the restrictions of scale involved. To undertake colour statistics, one would require a very limited corpus – perhaps tracing the colours used by a single author – for the larger the corpus used, the less useful the tool. Moreover, the number of colours tells the scholar very little. A quantitative approach, therefore, is still reliant on qualitative analysis to provide interpretation of the data.[27]

Attention to colour symbolism can also be short-sighted, dismissing the agency of the writer as creator of their own colour-conceptions. One example of this approach is Richard L. Hillier's unpublished thesis, "Color Imagery in Elizabethan Poetry, exclusive of Spenser, Shakespeare, Drayton, and Chapman: with Special Reference to Christopher Marlowe" (1944), in which he writes of how "white denotes virginity and purity; black, evil and misfortune of every sort, especially death; red, lust, luxury, majesty, and honour" (v). This kind of colour symbolism is essentially another form of quantification and such neat codifications for colour are not always exercised in early modern literature. Green, for example, is symbolically burdened, used in literary texts from the period to convey a wide range of meanings: youth,

[26] On the critical positioning of early modern texts in relation to their cultural, social, and economic situation, see Burnett and Wray 85-87.

[27] As Hugh Craig and Brett Greatley-Hirsch outline: "How much such patterns illuminate literary questions is always a matter of debate. Language provides a rich source for statistics, as words are repeated or not, appear often or rarely near each other . . . but this abundance is no guarantee or interest"; instead, it is "up to the literary critic to "'know when to compare and when to analyze'" (21).

ripeness; greensickness; sin; maidenhood; whoredom; jealousy; hunting; or the colour of lovers.[28] And indeed, when Shakespeare attends to colour symbolism he reacts against it, creating his own chromatic poetics. In *Othello*, green is used to depict Othello's jealousy (3.3.170), while in his *All is True* Shakespeare refers to "black envy" (2.1.86). Likewise, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, Lucrece's face is at war, for "when beauty bragged, beauty would blush for shame; / When beauty boasted blushes, in despite / Virtue would stain that o'er with silver white" (54-56). These colours are transgressive, as white, for instance, does not conform to "virtue," instead prompting a "stain". Scholars cannot rely on neat symbolic boundaries for colour in early modern literature, and certainly, to do so is to risk turning away from the subject of colour as the meaning eclipses the medium (Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 23; B. Smith, *The Key* 254).

The most recent investigation of how to approach colour in literature is provided in an issue of the *French Studies* journal titled, "Thinking Colour-Writing" (2017), which presents five essays exploring colour in French modernist literature. These essays approach texts visually, and specifically chromatically, via questions of colour capacity, which is defined as either "colour saturation"; or "colour reticence" (310, 311); colour agency, which asks what colour does in a text; and by reading their chosen texts alongside contemporary critical theory on colour. The issue this study takes with this journal's approach is that, while the writers involved desire to produce a universal means of approaching colour in literature, designed "*of all periods*" (312), their methods neglect the context of the literature under investigation and thereby, the context of its colour-words and descriptions, a context that is so important to existing colour studies.

[28] See, for instance, Daye's *The English Secretorie* (130); J. Ford's *Lover's Melancholy* 3.2.17; Middleton's *Revenger's Tragedy* 2.3.130; Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* 1.2.78; Dessen 32; Whitney's *Emblems* (134).

In this thesis, I explore colour in early modern English literature and culture, doing so with a novel approach as I foreground both the lived experience of colour's materiality and a polychromatic palette. The intention of this thesis is not to expose set colour-codifications, nor is it to understand how colour was sensed in the period. Instead, this study's purpose is twofold. Firstly, it illuminates the importance of colour to early modern English society, and to its writers as a result, as it uses textual sources to explore the relationship between colour's materiality, as experienced in specific environments, and textual instantiations of colour in early modern literature. As this thesis explores the experience of colour in different environs and the association between living with colour and writing with colour, it asks the following questions: In what ways did early modern English men and women experience colour? How did they, therefore, "think" colour and write about colour?

In formulating this approach, I have profited from a range of scholars' work in the fields of art and cultural history. John Gage, Michel Pastoureau, Philip Ball, and David Batchelor have inspired and enlightened my own course of colour enquiry. Batchelor's reaction against a widespread depreciation of colour has highlighted humankind's involved relationship with colour. As Batchelor stresses, humans connect with, respond to, and react towards, colour; an insight that has compelled my own investigation into how early moderns interacted with colour. This thesis also draws on Gage's insistence on the historical and cultural specificity of colour (*Colour and Meaning* 8), Gage and Ball's emphasis on the need to examine colour's materiality (Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 66; Ball xii, 18), and Batchelor's conviction that literature provides "vivid accounts of colour" (*The Luminous* 16). This study extends these writers' insights on colour as it draws upon the research of cultural theorists, Jennifer Daryl Slack and Stefka Hristova. In their essay, "Culture in-colour" (2016), Slack and Hristova highlight that "we colour from a position within colour" (6). Considering this observation, as I cogitate the historical and cultural context of colour, the materiality of colour, and uniquely, the lived

experience of the polychromatic palette, this thesis also attends to the fact that colour words and descriptions displayed in early modern writing were penned within, and coloured by, colourful environments.

Secondly, this thesis acts as a platform for encouraging other literary scholars, concerned with the same or an alternative era, to engage with colour in literature. While it illustrates the importance and richness of studies that are historically and culturally considerate, and responsive to the culture's and the writer's palette, this study also attends to the tension that exists for researchers between reading colour and critically engaging with this colour. To facilitate literary scholars' participation with colour in literature, this study introduces its readers to a rich, applicable, and therefore empowering, vocabulary of colour. Examples of the colour terminology coined and discussed within this study include: "vocal colour," "chromatic conscience," the "impetus to colour," and "colourscapes". As it both investigates colour and offers scholars a means of, and a language for, exploring chromatics, this thesis reveals that colour in early modern literature and culture – and indeed, in literature in general – is an underexamined but rewarding area of research.

Whereas current colour-research tends to be diachronic, transnational, or transcultural, this thesis' terms of "Early Modern," "English," and "Culture" signpost my conviction that colour is historically and culturally specific (Gage, *Colour and Art* 215). This thesis concentrates specifically on encounters with colour in early modern England between *c.* 1580 and *c.* 1660. Its commencement from the 1580s correlates with a sustained national effort to retrieve novel colourants and chromatic technologies, which considerably catalysed English travel and colonisation. The study naturally ends as a critical change in colour-knowledge takes place in the 1660s, as Newton's physics of colour substantially altered how colour was – and continues to be – perceived. This period of study encompasses the development of colour practice, the spreading of colour literacy, critical instances of colour-divisiveness, and the

furthering of colour experience as more and more hues were seen both within and outside of England. I locate this investigation both temporally and geographically as an active response to Gage's insistence that colour held conflicting meanings in "different periods and cultures," which existing cultural studies have illuminated, but it is also a response to Gage's assertion that colour "held quite antithetical connotations . . . even at the same time and in the same place" (*Colour and Meaning* 34).[29] Both Gage and Pastoureau maintain that a diachronic study of colour is "essential" (Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 66). However, by Pastoureau's own admission, his transcultural and transhistorical studies provide a "chromatic labyrinth" as they have "had to – regretfully – condense material, skim over certain areas, avoid certain questions, and give priority to a few leading threads" (7). Unlike their transcultural and transhistorical studies, by concentrating on an isolated time and location, I can notice more as I attend to local nuances and active rearticulations of colour as detailed in literature.

Before this thesis can address the question of colour in early modern English culture and its literature, it requires a definition of colour suitable to the culture in question. This thesis' title includes the term "Colour," which immediately signals this study's movement from the singular hues of green or black foregrounded to date in early modern studies and the singular hues explored in cultural studies, considering instead the full range of England's colour palette.[30] This polychromatic emphasis is necessitated by how one experiences colour, and indeed, by how early moderns experienced colour, as detailed in the textual sources they have left behind. Vision was and is not monochromatic like Thomas Wright's spectacles in *The Passion of the Minde in Generall* (1604), "which make all thinges resemble the colour of greene" (88). Rather, early moderns' sensory faculties were confronted with a range of hues,

[29] Gage's assessment is congruent with Slack and Hristova's study of colour and culture, 3, 7.

[30] In this thesis, black and white are included as colours. This is because the period under exploration precedes Sir Isaac Newton's definition of black and white as non-colours (St Clair 11; 30).

seen on or through an array of surfaces. Certainly, Gloucester in Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI* as previously mentioned, states that "Sight may distinguish of *colours*" (emphasis added), describing visual experience as a varied palette. Moreover, Ann Fanshawe's memoir details purple, scarlet, and white, drawing on a range of colours, and highlighting the importance of colour-comparison in visual experience. While early modern scholarship, and indeed, cultural studies of colour in general, have attended to singular colours, this polychromatic study responds to the fact that early moderns lived with and thought about a rainbow-range of colours that remain to be considered. Colours do not exist in isolation; colour only fully "functions" insofar as it is combined with or opposed to one or many other colours" (Pastoureau, *Blue* 11).[31] In essence, considering a single hue narrows one's perspective of how colour was experienced, failing to attend to the role of colour-comparison in shaping colour-perceptions.

As this thesis encompasses all colours, it also defines colour in terms of its materiality. As Slack and Hristova state: "In popular culture and in everyday life, colour is most often lived as surface, artifice, and ornament" (8).[32] As this statement highlights, colour, regardless of how one rationalises the phenomenon – as wavelengths of light, or as early moderns did, as "the effect of differing material transparencies" – is experienced in everyday life as materiality (B. Smith, *The Key* 29).[33] "Colour," Gage asserts, "is inseparable from the surface that bears it,

[31] For the necessity of a polychromatic study, see Albers 5; Pastoureau, *Black* 12; and Hardin xx-xxi.

[32] The need to attend to the materiality of colour has been voiced by Diana Young in her essay, "The Colours of Things" (2006), in which she observes that "colour is a crucial but little analysed part of understanding how material things can constitute social relations" (173).

[33] There are several studies that consider Plato and Aristotle's theories of colour vision. For Plato, see Hoorn 61-62; and for Aristotle, see Hoorn 90; Everson 17-32; 80-125; Lindberg 6-8; Clark 14; and Johansen 47. In several poetic instances, colour is conceived of as a material that feeds the visual appetite. In *An Anatomy of the World* (1611), John Donne writes of how "sight hath only color to feed on" (B4r), while Henry Vaughan describes how the "azure" of heaven "fed my eyes, / But all the ear lay hush" ("Regeneration" 43, 47-48).

and from its material substance" (*Colour in Art* 109). This thesis participates, therefore, in the material turn in the critical community as it turns to the stuff of colour, to colourants and to coloured things, and the environments in which they were experienced. Indeed, I take my definitional cue from the textual sources left behind by early moderns, which emphasise the materiality of colour as they provide explicit descriptions of colourants and colourful objects, as well as implicit references to the materiality of colour and practices of colouring.[34] For early modern English men and women, colour meant colourants, coloured inks, coloured threads, coloured glass, coloured maps, and coloured clothing – to name just a few of the examples highlighted in this study. While Bruce R. Smith affirms this assessment, stating that "Color, for [Francis] Bacon as for most of his contemporaries, was material stuff" (*The Key* 56), his study does not foreground this, nor has this evaluation, to date, drawn significant scholarly attention. This thesis, however, does prioritise that colour for "most" people in early modern England was not connected to optical theories, nor to a position on the spectrum; for early moderns, colour was a sensual, material being, regarded as a substance – as a colourant – and intimately connected to the identity of the objects around them.

Attention to this colourful stuff was palpably heightened in the period, for there existed in early modern England a culture of colouring. English men and women – as well as boys and girls – from all shades of the social spectrum were nothing short of preoccupied with colour's materiality as they engaged in chromogenic activity, creating, manipulating, and applying colour to a wide range of surfaces. An attentiveness to material colour is prevalent throughout this thesis, especially as the dyeing industry is repeatedly relevant to different contexts of early modern culture, as detailed in the wide range of the textual sources explored. Colour's

[34] The editors of *The Materiality of Color* highlight that in the early modern period, colour was "an extremely material matter," as its "physical properties defined much of its use and peoples' understanding of it" (Feeser, Daly, and Fowkes "Introduction" 3).

materiality was engaged with, as the dyeing industry suggests, out of commercial necessity in early modern England. Yet material colour was also played with, delighted in, and sought after, as well as disregarded, and the locus of much anxiety. As chapter one will convey, there was a distinct propagation of advice on how to engage in colouring – on how to colour the page, one's body, one's clothes, amongst other things. Early moderns were, as far as the profusion of textual guides on colouring suggest, actively engaged in colouristic activity. As attuned as they were to colourants and colouring, early moderns in England were also engrossed in the colours of things, as is self-confessed in one of the earliest accounts of the New World provided by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Gilbert maintains that to be acculturated into English society is to possess a predilection for colourful objects as he records how "all Savages," as they "taste of civility," take "delight in any garment . . . as a shirt, blew, red, or green cotton cassoke" (Peckham 111). As colour was for early moderns "stuff," taking the form of either colourants or coloured objects, this thesis assumes a material approach to its analysis of colour in early modern English literature and culture. An attendance to colour's materiality has been practised by several art and cultural historians, including John Gage and Michel Pastoureau, as well as early modern scholars, including Kim F. Hall, Bruce R. Smith, and Leah Knight who consider several material objects as part of their studies of black and green.[35] Although Gage, Pastoureau, and Smith have engaged with colour using physical objects, I approach the materiality of colour primarily through the lens of literature.

While there has been an emphasis in recent studies of materiality to engage with the physical artefact, I would argue that an engagement with colourants and colourful stuff in the

[35] Hall, for example, examines the circulation of court jewels, see chapter 5, "An Object in the Midst of Other Objects': Race, Gender, Material Culture" (211-53).

here and now is more detrimental than clarifying for the scholar of colour.[36] This is for two main reasons. Firstly, written descriptions provide context for where these coloured things were experienced, a context that is essential for an understanding of colour, as this thesis maintains; and secondly, as Pastoureau raises, there are three main issues which make studying colourful artefacts problematic. The first is documentary, for the researcher in the present does not see colours in their original condition: colour is altered by several external factors which can wear away at a colour's saturation, transform the colour, or indeed, remove the colour completely from view. Moreover, even if the colours applied to these artefacts retained their veracity, the researcher does not see colour under the same lighting conditions as those in the past would have, as torches, candles, and even gas lamps provide different lighting effects than electric bulbs (Pastoureau, *Blue* 8).[37] Certainly, I would maintain that pigment analysis is a fruitful line of enquiry for determining which colours were used in the past, but the average eye is hindered by the ephemerality of colour's materiality. The second issue involves methodology. Pastoureau questions how the scholar can attempt to separate the multifarious strains presented by an object's colour simultaneously, of "physics, chemistry, materials, techniques of production, as well as iconography, ideology, and the symbolic meanings that colors convey" (*Blue*, 8). And the third and final issue Pastoureau raises is epistemology, as he wonders how the researcher avoids an anachronistic tendency: the projection of their own colour-ideas becoming implicated with past conceptions (*Blue* 8-9). The documentary, methodological, and epistemological battles posed by artefacts, therefore, is that our colour-perceptions are temporally distanced from yesterday's. The colours of the material "stuff" of the past are, as

[36] In relation to engaging with the material object, see Attfield 43; Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster 9; Richards and Schurink 346; and King 116.

[37] These are issues also raised by scholars who prioritise the materiality of colour, including, Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 13, 54; and Clarke, Ball, and Parraman 44.

Gage acknowledges, nothing short of "seriously undermined" (*Colour and Meaning* 12). Significantly, I contend that these issues identified by Pastoureau are directly addressed by a literary approach to colour. This thesis maintains that literature provides access to how people both experienced and conceived of colour in their everyday existence, for colour as a visual quality fades, colour words do not; colour as a visual quality does not instruct the viewer's attention to how colour should be perceived, whereas colour descriptions can and often do. Literature does not provide a total understanding of colour, but it does assist in enhancing an appreciation of colour experience in a specific time and place.

To expose colour's materiality, this study draws on both explicit and implicit references to colour in early modern literature. As explained in the study, *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Culture* (2017), literature provides "quick, quotidian discussion of things" (Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster 9). As I draw on material studies, I also draw on the undertones of historical phenomenology, which encourages scholars to cogitate words and descriptions, including figurative language, as "indexes, signs with a natural or metonymic connection with somatic experience" (B. Smith, "Premodern" 326).[38] What this approach enables is an understanding of colour in literature as connected to, and connecting with, real historical environments. Therefore, whether explicit description, or figurative expression, both representations of colour offer the researcher an understanding of the lived

[38] For historical phenomenology, see B. Smith, "Premodern" and *The Key* 28, 40; and M. Smith. Mark Smith writes that "Through careful and considered engagement with printed evidence, we can readily grasp what particular sensory events or stimuli meant to particular individuals and groups in particular contexts" (849). Susan Frye describes historical phenomenology as a "method" that connects "the poststructural analysis of the subject located in cultural discourse with the phenomenological analysis of the subject located in the physical body and its material circumstances" (27). Metaphors are primary to historical phenomenology, see M. Smith (852); Frye 28; and Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 4; and indeed, colours "bear the metaphors of entire cultures" (Meloy 7).

experience of colour's materiality in early modern England: of where colour was seen and of which colours were seen. As this colourful stuff is brought into view, I recognise that colour is not just a material, but something to be conceived by those who interacted with it. This thesis posits that early modern writing exposes colour-thinking; it maintains that early modern writing both registers and explores cultural engagement with colour in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As I undertake close textual analysis, I simultaneously uncover evidence of, but also engagement with, colour's materiality in the period, for colour-descriptions bring to the fore first-person perceptions of colour.[39] Indeed, as Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster have highlighted, literature provides "unique evidence" of "explicit observation on the social and cultural meaning of materiality and the personal reaction it provokes" as well as "embodied exchanges" and "emotional responses" (9). The first-hand descriptions English men and women leave behind are sensitive both to where colour was experienced and how it was understood. They provide insight into, as Umberto Eco describes, "personal reactivity towards the polychromous theatre of the world" (157). To capture something of the relativity between colour-writing and colour as experienced in specific contexts, this thesis requires astute attention to a wide spectrum of textual documents, and critical attentiveness to their interrelationships. Indeed, as it considers colour in literature, this thesis draws on evidence from treatises, household manuals, probate inventories, wills, poetry, prose, religious and moral polemic, the bible, travel writings, and drama, amongst other textual sources.

As this thesis uses literature to expose the materiality of colour, it responds to the question posed by the editors of *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* (1996). "What

[39] As I prioritise literature, there are occasions when I use visuals. However, these visuals are exercised to reference literary materials, rather than used as separate entities for exploration.

happens," they ask, "once the object is brought into view? What new configurations emerge when subject and object are kept in relation?" (de Grazia, Quilligan, and Stallybrass 2). Therefore, as I present colour's materiality in literature, what I also investigate is the dialectic between colour as material stuff and the early moderns who lived in and with colour. Early modern writers, while stimulated by their colour environs, also stimulated a spectrum of connections and responses to colour in their literary output. It is this cultural colour-conversation, of how materiality tempers writing and writing tempers colourful stuff, that this thesis explores. It reveals that colour in early modern environs and writers' deployment of colour mutually informed the cultural experience of colour in early modern England. Thus, this thesis recognises its reliance on the "historicity of texts and the textuality of histories" (410), as described by Louis Montrose, as it studies the material experience of colour via literature and suggests that textual instantiations of colour contribute to the cultural experience of colour's materiality. This colour-conversation is intricate, but it is worth exploring precisely because for early moderns, as their writing repeatedly reveals, colour matter mattered.

Colour Atlas

In the English translation of Giovanni Lomazzo's *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge Carvinge Buildinge* (1598), provided by Richard Haydocke, colour is described as "a material substance indued with a quality of diversely affecting the Eye according to the matter wherein it is found" (125). As it understands that colour is a contextually experienced phenomenon, this thesis considers colour's materiality, and how early moderns, individually and collectively, connected and responded to it, in the context of five environments, or what I term "colourscapes". "Colourscape" is a blended term that emulates the existing expressions of, for example, "smellscape," "cityscape," and "soundscape". Just as these terms implicate their foci with place, the concept of "colourscape" captures the crucial connection between colour and context as it highlights that environments can be organised and experienced via

colour.[40] Five chapters present five different colourscapes, both physical and conceptual, that shaped colour-thinking as expressed in early modern literature. Colourscapes explored in this thesis include the workplace, the household, the Church, the New World, and dramatic productions. These different contexts for encountering colour are testament to how colour, for the early modern writer, constituted a key sensory experience that was rooted in specific contexts of interpretation.

Chapters one and two expose and explore colour as a daily attribute of early modern life for men, women, and children. The first chapter, "The Impetus to Colour," contextualises the existence of a culture of colouring in early modern England as individuals from diverse social stations, of both sexes, and of all ages, engaged in colouring of either a pragmatic or decorative character. This chapter highlights those professions which relied on colour, focusing especially on painters and dyers, as it investigates the sensuous experience of working with colour as a pigment or dye. This chapter then examines the use of colour within the early modern household, revealing a widespread practice of colouring that extended from the cloth and the canvas to the body and the page. As this chapter relocates its focus to the early modern household, it uncovers a correlation of practices and experiences of colouring between those engaged with colour in the home and those employed in colourful trades. This chapter's concentration on the "impetus to colour" – an expression that accounts for the impulse to colour that existed in early modern England – is tinted throughout with examples of how the ubiquitous material understanding of colour in the period as a sensuous and fugitive entity informed the writer's tools, imagination, and vocabulary. As this thesis furthers its domestic

[40] Smellscape was introduced by J. Douglas Porteous, who explains: "The concept of smellscape suggests that, like visual impressions, smells may be spatially ordered or place-related" (359). "Colourscape" is a term originally formulated for the title of the architectural study *Colourscape* (1996) by Michael Lancaster. My use of the term refers specifically to colourfully charged environments rather than to colour as an architectural feature.

focus in chapter two, “Weaving Words with Colour,” it unravels the gendered discourse of colouring. This chapter examines the intimate affiliation between early modern women and coloured threads; an affiliation that is fostered by English society. It uncovers that pedagogical strategies for girls’ procurement of literacy and societal expectations of how women should conduct themselves in the household created a pragmatic, artistic, and emotional connection between women and textiles. This chapter observes how women transformed their material exercise of chromatic choice and experimental chromatic-application in their habitual textual and textile activities into expressions of their gendered identity and their individuality in their writing.

In the workplace and in the home, colour provided opportunities for experimentation. As this thesis moves from these environments to the Church and to the New World in chapters three and four, it unearths restrictions placed on colour experience. Chapter three, “The Tincture(s) of Reformed Religious Experience,” reveals the presence of an ongoing colour debate engendered by the Reformation. It exposes how a society used to a colourific canvas for worship faced a crisis of colour connection as it endeavoured to decide where to situate colour in the Church. Colour was an increasing locus of anxiety for the Church and was discursively confronted in writings from the period. On the one hand, the Church recognised God-given colours; on the other, how individuals responded to humans’ redistribution of these colours raised concerns of theological proportions. The fourth chapter, “The Hue of the New,” travels from the familiar to the novel as it considers local and foreign colours in early modern England. It foregrounds that colours were geographically situated entities, and how as a nation, England was increasingly aware of its limited colour resources. This chapter explores the imperative placed on travellers to the Americas to expand England’s colour palette by finding new dyestuffs, and to develop England’s chromatic technologies. It reveals that this chromatic pressure coloured how travellers recorded their colour sensations, and how these records

coloured how English men and women, who read and heard travellers' accounts, conceived of the hues of the New World.

The everyday familiarity of colour, the experimental treatment of colour, and the limits of colouring are all explored in the fifth and final chapter, "Colourising Performance," which argues that colour was a central visual experience of early modern performance. This chapter concentrates on the professional theatre, via William Shakespeare, and the masque genre, drawing on the published masques of Ben Jonson, as it reveals that colouring was a necessitated practice and a specific technology of dramatic production. This chapter stages each production's underlying consciousness of the colours of performance spaces, the collaborative colour-decisions made prior to performance, as well as the colour phenomena provided for spectators during the performance event. As it explores Shakespeare's plays, and masques penned by Jonson, this chapter exposes a connection between performance and scripting colour, between performance and colour industries, and between performance and chromogenic activity that is currently underexamined by early modern theatre historians.

In each of these five chapters an early modern chromatic-consciousness is evident from the literature, a consciousness informed by colour's material presence in English society's places of work, homes, dwellings for worship, on their travels, and prior to and during a performance. As colour is thought about by early moderns in different ways in different spaces, it illuminates how colour in writing is more than a mere textual feature. Colour in writing is testament to how colour's materiality in early modern culture stimulated multifarious sensual, emotional, and intellectual responses and was valued in differing ways by different individuals and groups of people. In early modern England, colour was not on the side-lines, nor was it only seen on furnishings. Colour was a material and a textual reality, and colouring was both a visual and a textual impulse, considered important enough to chart issues of gender, religion, and nationality in literature, as well as act as a means of artistic expression in the household

and in theatrical productions. By thinking about colour within these five colourscapes, this thesis will uncover the experience of colour for early modern English men and women, and at the same time expose the value of colour to literary scholars in general, stimulating their interest and prompting them to attend to colour.

Chapter One: The Impetus to Colour

Early modern England has been described as "devoted to ornament, decoration and artifice" (Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 41), and this devotion extended to its use of colour. Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa observe how "Elizabethans loved colour. They painted their house interiors, they hung painted cloths on their walls if they could not afford tapestries, and above all everyone, playgoers or not, who could afford to, dressed as colourfully as they could" (56).[41] Colour was so revered, in fact, that Eric Mercer states: "Throughout the greater part of the period the only reason for leaving anything unpainted seems to have been the physical impossibility of reaching it with a brush" (152). What these scholars suggest is that early moderns delighted in displaying colour, in wearing colour, and in applying colour. This chapter contextualises that there was a widespread impetus *to colour* in early modern England. There is a tendency in early modern scholarship to discuss how colour was used for social demarcation: it is widely acknowledged that English society organised its social networks via colour, as one's social identity was made visible by the colour of clothing outlined for each social stratum by sumptuary law, and one's familial identity was visually represented by heraldry and its attendant colours or "tinctures" as they were known (Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 43, 45).[42] This social categorisation is, however, only a fraction of the narrative of colour in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Even though Mercer, Gurr, and Ichikawa have suggested

[41] Ian C. Bristow has written specifically on the relationship between colour and architecture in Britain, see *Architectural Colour* and *Interior House-Painting*. For further studies that detail this revelling in colour, see Fleming, *Graffiti* 60; and for visual examples of painted houses, see Hamling and Richardson 47-48.

[42] For the significance of ordering social status via the colour of clothing, see Elizabeth I's statute, *The Excesse of Apparel* (1574), as well as scholars including, Reynolds; de Grazia 23; and Jones and Stallybrass 2, 4-5. For heraldic colours, see Pastoureau, *Heraldry* 43-47; Legh's *Accedence of Armorie* (1591); Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie* (1610); and Gage, *Colour and Culture* 80-90.

the colourific impulse of early moderns, to date there has not been a study of how this impacted on everyday practice, nor of how this impulse is embodied in the literature from the period.

This impetus to colour was visually apparent in English society, as the extant presence of paintings, stained-glass windows, clothing, tapestries, ceramics, maps, and manuscripts attest to the fact that the ebb and flow of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century life was remarkably colourful. What remains underexplored is that this stimulus to colour is similarly present in writings from this period. For instance, as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) imagines the possibility of new worlds, it presents criminals' punishment as the loss of chromatic freedom, as prisoners are forced to wear clothing of the "same distinctive colour" (23). William Camden's *Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth* (1635) records how blue textiles were used as visible signs of national celebration in London, directly following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 (372).[43] Moreover, in his poetry collection, *Hesperides or, The Works Both Humane and Divine*, published in 1648, Robert Herrick dwells on how individual colours came to exist in several of his poems including, "How Marigolds *Came Yellow*" (187), "*How Lillies Came White*" (74), and two separate poems called "*How Roses Came Red*" (105, 241).[44] The materiality of colour, its handling and its application, was no less than a visual *and* a textual preoccupation.

While there are numerous studies that have considered colour as a pigment or dyestuff in the fields of art history and cultural history, neglected to date has been a sustained focus on the experiential treatment of colour in early modern England, and especially the preparation

[43] Dressing streets with coloured textiles was ubiquitous practice in early modern England for celebratory events (Gordon 135).

[44] All Herrick poems in this thesis are referenced from L. C. Martin's *Poetical Works of Robert Herrick* (1956).

and application of colour.[45] As Amy Butler Greenfield asserts, it is "one thing . . . to assign meaning to a colour" but "quite another to create the colour itself" (13). The emphasis in scholarship has consistently been on these meanings, rather than on the task of working with colour. Yet, the impetus to colour, and to colour a wide range of surfaces, required an understanding of colour – of where it was sourced, of how it should be handled, and of how it should be applied. In a period before the standardisation of colour, and before synthetic colours were available, the impetus to colour was met with difficulty as organic colours, those colours found in nature, required careful and individual treatment to become usable as colourants and were not necessarily colourfast, even when application was possible.

To experiment with colour in the period required that one be conversant with colour as a material, and initially, this chapter concentrates on the colourscape of the workplace, using textual sources to explore the experience of handling colour for those who were specialist colourists. This chapter recognises the reliance of many industries on colour in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it foregrounds dyers' and painters' experiences of colour as individuals engaged specifically in professional acts of colouring. The literature explored suggests that colour for painters and dyers was both a sensory and a fugitive substance. Existing studies on green in the period have foregrounded the visual and aural perception of colour, overlooking the wider sensorial experience of colour; a surprising oversight given that textual instances of colour repeatedly allude to the taste and the scent of colours.[46] While one must be cautious to suggest a direct correspondence between workshop practices and the technical discussion of colour in treatises (Pastoureau, *Green* 148), a

[45] See, for example, Brunello; Mayer; Delamare and Guineau; Ball; Finlay; Chenciner; and Greenfield. As I engage with the impetus to colour, therefore, I acknowledge the distinction made between colour as an attribute of objects, and the physical substance of colour that could be used as a colourant (Clarke, Ball, and Parraman 47).

[46] See B. Smith, *The Key* 30, 173, 178; and L. Knight 2, 17-36, 64-65, 70.

progression from the professional to the domestic sphere uncovers further evidence of the sensuous nature of colour and of the concerns provoked by colour as a material.

As this chapter moves from the colourscape of the studio or dye house to the household, it highlights that experimentation with colour was not limited to the place of work but extended to the home. Early modern literature exposes that painting and dyeing were practices encouraged in, and exercised within, the household, as men, women, and children - of all shades of the social spectrum – were actively involved with colourants as they limned, cooked, applied cosmetics, tended to their clothing, or indeed, penned words. Recent scholarly interest in the textuality and materiality of books has uncovered that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers were profoundly aware of the physicality of their writing, at times even making self-conscious reference to the materiality of their words.[47] Scholarship has recognised that in literature from this period, drawing and writing, and painting and writing, are often conflated, but what has not been considered is that in early modern England, to write was to apply colour.[48] This chapter illuminates that colour was materially and figuratively interweaved with the process of writing, for as writers prepared their writing instruments and applied their script to the page, they did so with a consciousness of colour and of colouring. What this chapter

[47] See Anderson and Sauer*;* Hackel and Kelly*;* Hackel; and Sherman, *Used*. Elaine Scarry, for instance, has drawn attention to John Donne's practice of foregrounding the physical presence of his words (70-105), while Randall Ingram outlines Robert Herrick's consistent focus on the paper and ink in his poetry collection *Hesperides* (127-47).

[48] Contemporary instances include Mary Sidney Herbert's translation of Psalm 45, which describes the tongue as "the pen to paint his praises forth" (line 3); Mulcaster's assertion of painting as the "cradlefellow" of writing (36); *Hamlet* refers to a "painted word" (3.1.55); and *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600) includes the assertion, "You paint your flattering words *Lafsinbergh, /* Making a curious pensill of your tongue" (A3r). For scholarship that considers the connection between writing and drawing or painting, see Acheson 91; Rose 7-8; Gilman 15; Delamare and Guineau 53; and Gent.

illuminates is that by experimenting with colour in professional or in domestic spheres, English men, women, and children who painted, dyed, or wrote, were actively gleaning an understanding of colour's sensuous and fugitive materiality. In its exploration of textual documents, this chapter displays that this material understanding of colour is both embodied within, and was vigorously perpetuated by, early modern English literature.

Working with Colour

From embroidery to printing, and from cartography to heraldry, an advanced knowledge of how to use the material substance of colour was necessary for many professions in early modern England. To apply colour to various surfaces, including clothing, maps, coats of arms, threads, street signs, printed books, and portraits, craftsmen and women required an understanding of how to use colourants effectively to create colourfast products.[49] Moreover, there were many professions that relied on the successful creation of colourful items for their trades. Of the twelve main livery companies in early modern London (Seaver 92), mercers, grocers, haberdashers, clothworkers, and goldsmiths would have had a vested interest in and reliance on colour as they sold colourants or sold coloured items.[50] As did numerous other trades, such as tapestry makers in Mortlake and Fulham whose base product was varying colours of thread, and tailors who relied on the production of dyed fabrics to produce colourful clothes.[51] The success or failure of these professions rested upon the two industries of painting

[49] See Korda, "Staging" 56; Peter Stallybrass believes there could have been people in Blackfriars who hand-coloured books for people ("Hand-Colored").

[50] In Thomas Middleton's *Owl's Almanac*, mercers are addressed as those "that fold up angels' hues and attire your walls with Indian coats" (line 1460), while grocers are described as providing a "blue will keep a band clean a whole seven-night" (1539-40). Grocers were known to sell pigments (Karim-Cooper 56).

[51] The character of Bragardo in the anonymous play, *The Wit of a Woman* (1604), explains how it is the tailor's "trade, to save a shred to keepe for a patterne against an other time, if the colour be enquired for" (D4v). Moreover,

and dyeing; two industries that concentrated specifically on the substance of colour. In Edward Phillips' dictionary, *The New World of English Words* (1658), individual colours are identified with these professions. "Madder" is a "kind of plant, with whose root being of a red colour, they use to dye wool" and "Vediture" is "a green colour among Painters" (Qq3r). In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, colour was explicitly considered in relation to the artisanal activities of painting and dyeing.

As well as renowned painters in England including Rubens, King Charles I's Principal painter, Antony Van Dyck (G. Parry 108), and the miniaturists, Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver, the activity of colouring was also undertaken by lesser-known individuals in the period, of both sexes, who engaged in either painting or dyeing. Alice Gammedge, of Saffron Walden, lists in her will of 1591, her "stones, colours, frames and other things belonging to the art, mistery, science or occupation of a painter" (Emmison 106) and Surrey probate inventories detail in 1573 one "Edward West of Godalming, dyer" and an "Alice Mychel of Frensham," who was a practising dyer in 1602 (Herridge 116, James 114).[52] Immigrants from the Low Countries were invaluable to England's dyeing industry, bringing their extensive knowledge of fixing colour to cloth and offering consumers especially colourfast products (Korda, "Staging" 53, 56). In addition to well-known and provincial dyers, and men and women, the

in Middleton's *Anything for a Quiet Life* (*c.* 1621), Young Franklin instructs Young Cressingham (who is, at this stage in the play, disguised as a tailor), to "go you show your lady the stuffs and let her choose her colour" (2.3.16-17).

[52] Other examples include a grocer's servant named Katharine Treheron, who bequeathed a pipe of woad (James 102); Margaret Church of Runwell who refers to her mother's dyeworks in her 1585 will (James 114); Alice Herne, who painted bedframes in Elizabeth I's residences (Frye 77); and Margaret Gooday, who took three men to court to re-claim her dyeworks in Essex (James 103). Although these examples predominantly present women, men and women were engaged in the dyeing and painting industries in early modern England. The relationship between women and colour will be further explored in chapter two.

colour industry was not restricted by age as children – mainly boys – were involved in the English dyeing industry (Frye 21), even if only tangentially. In their study, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (2017), Hamling and Richardson detail an incident that occurred in Tiverton, Devon, in 1612 when a dyer left a young boy to keep watch over his dye vat's furnace. Extant records reveal that the boy continued to add fuel, which created an excessive blaze that overtook the furnace and, as a result, also overtook the dyer's home (222). Although an unfortunate incident, its noteworthiness at the time provides an invaluable record that children, as well as men or women, could be occupied with the procedure of colouring in early modern England, whether in palaces or in studios, or in established or home-based dye houses.

Because wool was the mainstay of the English nation, professions that worked with cloth were essential to the English economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and this was especially true of dyeing (Rublack 7; Jones and Stallybrass 14). The level of involvement in the dyeing industry in England during this period is difficult to quantify because it was a practice engaged in by official dyeworks, as well as by amateurs in their homes or shops, as was the case for the dyer in Devon.[53] The playwright, Walter Mountfort, offers a sense of the scale of the numbers immersed in dyeing in England in his play, *The Launching of the Mary* (1632), in which the first committee bewails the royally-sanctioned prohibition on using indigo as a dyestuff in England:

> for Indico yet is so excellent
>
> for the well dyinge . . . of our woollen Clothes
>
> so much esteemed almost through out the world

[53] Hamling and Richardson provide an account of a clothier, Henry Nelson, from Canterbury whose dyeing activity spread to the upstairs of his shop, his entire house, and his garden (149).

for ornament and weare, that take awaye

the goodnes of the dye, small sale of Cloth

will be in use, & what will follow then

but beggery to thousands in the land. (303-09)

England was economically reliant on the cloth industry, which in turn had its foundations in the dyeing industry, and to such an extent that Mountfort intimates that thousands of its inhabitants could be financially crippled by the sanctioning of one dyestuff.[54] While Mountfort's mention of "thousands," across "the land," does not provide exact numbers, it is valuable for how it illustrates the dyeing industry's relevance to a vast proportion of the population. Dyeworks were located across England. Eric Kerridge explains that dyeing centres included Ipswich, Colchester, Knaresborough, Shrewsbury, Exeter, Tiverton, and London (163-64). Woad dyers (woad is a dyestuff used to produce an indigo blue), for example, worked in various counties, including Somerset, Lincolnshire, and Cambridgeshire (Baty 54). Dyeworks were especially commonplace in the city of London (Kerridge 164). In London, dye houses were mainly situated along Thames Street, a location that provided much-needed proximity to the Thames for gathering the water required for the dyeing process (Dyers' Company; Kerridge 164). Epistolary correspondence between King James I and the Lord Mayor of London remarks on the situation of dyers who were "within the City," but it also explicitly refers to dye works "dwelling out of the City," in the "Liberties," the area outside city jurisdiction (Mullaney viii; "Dyers and dyeing"). Alison Thirsk details how Southwark, the location of the Globe and the Rose playhouses in the period, was known to have been a dye house site in the 1550s (Thirsk 38).

[54] The sanctioning of indigo is described in Baty 54.

The ubiquity of dyeing and the overwhelming numbers involved in the craft reveals a pervasiveness of knowledge regarding colour and how it can be successfully applied. Unfortunately, one is presented with relative archival silence with regards to the technical practices of professional dyers in early modern England for three main reasons. Firstly, not all dyers would have possessed the literacy skills to document their practice. Secondly, dyers were notorious for guarding their trade secrets, fearing that other dye houses might adapt their successful methods and thereby compete for their consumer base (Brunello 183). As a result of this, dyeing recipes were often memorised by workers rather than running the risk of leaving any textual traces that could be copied. And lastly, any of the records or recipes produced by the Worshipful Company of Dyers in London were lost in the Great Fire of 1666 (Dyers' Company). Fortunately, a semblance of the dyer's labour is provided in Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes and other Devises* (1586). Whitney's text includes 248 emblems, one of which, entitled "*In Colores*," foregrounds the dyer's labour visually and textually. "THE dier," Whitney explains, "loe, in smoke, and heate doth toile, / Mennes fickle minds to please, with sundrie hues" (134), a description that gestures to the accompanying woodcut of a dyer at work (See Fig. 1).

Dyes for textile fibres were sourced from vegetable, animal, and mineral sources, base materials that required substantial attention before dyeing could take place. Delamare and Guineau explain that to expel "waxes" and "resins" from the dyes, a series of processes are required including "maceration (chopping), ebullition (boiling)," and "fermentation – using controlled temperatures and acidity" (34). To "fix" the dye to a cloth's fibres, fabrics were commonly pre-treated by being steeped in a dyebath with "metallic salts" such as alum (Delamare and Guineau 34-35). Dyers had to be vigilant as a fabric's shade and its colour's longevity was determined by these preparative stages, as well as the concentration of the mordant used (B. Ford 1). As well as sustained concentration, the dyer's work was physically

demanding. In Whitney's woodcut, the dyer's body is shown contorted over the dyebath, and the visual physicality of working with colour is emphasised with the corresponding text. The weight of the fabric is depicted by the bend of the dyer's device and stressed by his muscular frame. The "smoke and heate" described by Whitney, and required for dyeing, is visually represented, as billows of smoke rise from the concoction. Colouring cloth was evidently an extremely complex skill, involving technical expertise and extensive physical labour, and a unique sensory experience for those involved. Dyers watched carefully for colour transformations which occurred very quickly (Cardon 1). They felt the heat of the furnace that boiled the water, tasted the dye water to assess its quality, and smelt the mordant in the mixture, which was often "Stale urine," "rancid oils," or even, "the brine of pickled fish" (Schneider 113).[55] Even without direct sources of workshop practice, it is evident that the process of colouring in the dye vat was as costly physically as it was cognitively, and this investment of concentration and body was equally as important for those who coloured using paint.

Fig. 1. Woodcut of a dyer. "*In Colores*". *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises*. 1586. 134.

[55] Tasting the liquid in the dye vat is suggested in a 1604 document entitled, *Directions given by the Patentees, How Their Compounded Stuffe is to be Used in Dying*, which states that "the liquor must be sweet" (n. pag.).

Painting was a practice required for many facets of early modern life, and as previously highlighted, it was a profession practised by renowned and provincial painters alike. The comprehensive reliance on those colours applied as paint is evident from the four main types of painting common in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was painting, which referred to oil painting; staining, which involved the painting of fabric; limning, which was the painting of miniatures with watercolours; and washing, which also used watercolours, but primarily for colouring maps and prints (Harley 15).[56] Like dyers, painters required extensive technical and practical knowledge to understand how to prepare each colour, for before a painter could access paints, each pigment required its own tailor-made procedure, a process known as "tempering". In its most basic form, to temper a pigment is to combine it with a medium so that it has the capacity to become fixed to a surface. But tempering also refers to the respective treatment of both the pigment (often washing it or grinding it down) and the binding agent as separate entities before they are combined to form a usable paint (Delamare and Guineau 74). Depending on which type of painting was undertaken, whether limning or oil painting for instance, the tempering process for pigments was varied to suit the medium onto which the paint was to be applied.

As with dyeing, first-hand accounts of professional painters working with colour are not readily accessible, and indeed, like dyers, not all painters would have been literate. However, the professional culture of limning does provide an avenue for understanding what it was like to work with pigments, as the miniaturist and goldsmith, Nicholas Hilliard, details his experience of working with watercolours in his *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning* (1624).[57] In this treatise, Hilliard is adamant that ocular proof of a colour is not sufficient to

[56] For the activity of painter-stainers in England, see Foister 32-50.

[57] For a more comprehensive understanding of Hilliard, see Coombs.

grasp an insight into its quality, or whether it is suitable for limning; rather, he stresses that an assessment of colour requires the full breadth of a painter's sensory faculties, conclusively stating that "a good painter hath tender senses" (74). The kind of sensory experiences a painter was subjected to are clear from Hilliard's remarks on pigment handling. Colours were textured as Hilliard foregrounds the haptic value of pigments on numerous occasions. Raw umber for example, is described as a "fowle and gressie Couller" ("fowle" meaning either physically dirty or malodorous), which requires one to "burne itt in A Crusible or Goldsmiths pott" to clean its surface (116).[58] Likewise, Hilliard lists those colours that require washing because they are "of A Sandy Loose & gravely quallitie & so heavy & ponderous & sollide bodies" (118). At times, this texture requires tempering to make the colours fit for purpose: "*Masticot, Cedar grene, galleston, powncky, greene, Indy Blewe,* and *Ultermarine* . . . theese and most other cullers," Hilliard explains, "ought to be grinded" (88). Working with pigments entailed holding and feeling colours to create a haptic assessment, but they also necessitated further bodily intimacy. "*Orpament, verdigres, verditer, Pinck, Sapgrene, Litmons*" are "naught for *Limning*" because they are "ill smelling" and "ill tasting" or "unsweet coulers" (88). Implicit in Hilliard's classification is how colours were consciously smelt and ingested to assess their usefulness for limning, with each pigment exerting its own olfactory and taste experience. In scholarship that considers colour in artistic practice, there has been sustained emphasis placed on colour's ability to show. For example, David Bomford and Ashok Roy observe the "sensory information colour conveys" (7). But colours, in their pigment form, were not only used by painters to *show* sensuous details in early modern England. Instead, as Hilliard reveals, colours presented their

[58] "foul, adj., n., and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 13 March 2018. Def. 1a, and 2.

own unique sensorial traits, which could be pungent, rough on the skin, and either pleasant or repulsive to the palate.

In addition to the sensuous quality of colour, Hilliard's treatise accentuates the immense fragility of colour in this period. Hilliard reveals that early modern colours were extremely fugitive, meaning "prone to fade" (Ball 107), as well as "perishable".[59] As fugitive and perishable entities, pigments were prone to diminishing at the mercy of time; the elements, including sunlight, rain, and wind; human interaction; and even at times their required binding agents. Incorrect handling of colours could mar their lustre, alter their saturation, and make them simply unworkable. Although tempering colours often means grinding materials down into smaller pieces, this process is deleterious to their aesthetic quality, as Hilliard observes how they "Instantly loose their beawtie" (118) as a result.[60] As well as their handling, the environment in which pigments are used could directly render them unworkable. The "culers them selves may not endure some ayers," Hilliard explains, including dusty, smoky airs or the "sulfirous ayre of Seacole" (70, 74). Moreover, colours were susceptible to drying out if left in the sun, becoming over-baked with heat, a factor that commanded, as in dyeing, careful temperature controls (Hilliard 92). Polluted places and extreme heat simply destroyed the painter's colours. Hilliard's treatise stresses how unreliable and unstable early modern colours were. The slightest handling of a colourant could have immense repercussions for its quality and its aesthetic, but organic colourants could also be rendered useless by environmental factors.

[59] "fugitive, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2018. Web. 6 April 2018. Def. 4b.

[60] Patrick Baty explains that grinding pigments affected their overall appearance because disparities in the particle size alters how light is reflected (31).

As both the professional cultures of painting and dyeing illustrate, colour had a more impactful existence for those professions in early modern England than it does today. To experience colour as a material substance was to be bombarded with a wealth of sensorial experience, but it was also to be confronted with a material of immense vulnerability. As a result, colouring during this period was an activity that required an investment of one's body, time, and energy, and the sustained and careful concentration of the individual working with colours. Working with colour demanded "artisanal literacy," what Pamela Smith has defined as an understanding gleaned by experience (8). Colour was to be felt, tasted, smelt, as well as seen, in both the dyeing and painting trades.

While this artisanal literacy, this knowledge of the technical and sensory aspects of working with colour, was paramount to professional cultures of colouring in England, comprehension of colour's materiality seeped into early modern English society, even acquiring royal attention. In Camden's *Historie*, he records for the year 1585 how Elizabeth I had woad dyeing removed to the liminal spaces of London, away from her abodes and at least four miles away from all market towns (287). The Queen's aversion to the dyestuff was because of the distinctly unpleasant scent, which was particularly pungent during the nine weeks it required to ferment (Schneider 112). But just as the smell of a colour reverberated beyond the dye house, so too did artisanal colour literacy. The anonymous comedy, *The Wit of a Woman* (1604), explicitly voices preparative measures for colours. The feigning painting tutor, Rinaldo, is directed to bring 'good stones for the grinding of your colours' (B2r), an instruction that draws equally on the utensils and practices of tempering colours. Moreover, William Shakespeare's *Passionate Pilgrim* (1599) states that "Green plants bring not / Forth their dye" ("Sonnet 17" line 26). The poet-speaker's assertion correlates to studies of dyeing practices, which emphasise that plants, as vegetable dyeing sources, produce nearly every shade of the

colour spectrum bar green (Delamare and Guineau 41; Rublack 14).[61] As Camden, the anonymous playwright, and Shakespeare's poetry reveal, those who were not connected to professional cultures of colouring were privy to an understanding of the materiality of colour, and indeed, were making this knowledge available to others.

Colouring-in

The painter's working knowledge of colour is dramatized in the anonymous play, *Arden of Faversham*, a domestic tragedy that was both performed and published in 1592. This play draws on a historical murder case; in 1551, Thomas Arden was murdered by his wife, Alice (Barker and Hinds 77), an act that was recorded in Raphael Holinshed's *Third Volume of Chronicles* (1062-66), published in 1586. The play creatively reinterprets the events that led up to, and resulted in, Arden's murder, and significantly, the playwright's artistic licence involved the addition of colour to the murderous plot. Mosby, Alice's beloved, enlists the assistance of a painter named Clarke, who he explains "can temper poison with his oil" and apply it to a portrait of Alice (1.229), "that whoso look upon it should wax blind, / And with the scent be stifled" (1.612-13). But Alice is deeply concerned that the painter, Mosby, and herself will be killed in the process: "Ay, but Mosby, that is dangerous, / For thou or I or any other else, / Coming into the chamber where it hangs, may die" (1.235-37). Addressing her fears, Alice enquires of Clarke:

> . . . is it possible
>
> That you should paint and draw it out yourself,
>
> The colours being baleful and impoisoned,

[61] All William Shakespeare quotations used in this thesis are from the second edition of *The Norton Shakespeare* (2008). Chapter five further examines Shakespeare's knowledge of colour's materiality.

> And no ways prejudice yourself withal? (1.621-24)

In response to which, Clarke reassures Alice of his preparative measures:

> I fasten on my spectacles so close
>
> As nothing can any way offend my sight;
>
> Then, as I put a leaf within my nose,
>
> So put I rhubarb to avoid the smell,
>
> And softly as another work I paint. (1.628-32)

The legal case recorded in Holinshed's *Chronicles* documents how Arden's wife employed a "painter, dwelling in Feversham who had skill of poisons" (1063), rather than Clarke the painter's skill in creating baleful colours in the form of paint. By positioning this interaction with a painter and this series of conversations about the potential use and effects of colour within the household location, *Arden of Faversham* presents colour as both a professional and a domestic concern of the middling class represented. Colour is ruminated by the characters for its material qualities, as Alice worries about the pervasive impact of colour as a fugitive, unstable entity with indiscriminate sensory affects. Indeed, so strong is the sensory output of Clarke's colours that they penetrate not only the eyes, but also one's nose, as revealed by his precautions of wearing spectacles and placing rhubarb in his nose. What this dramatic example highlights is firstly, an awareness of producing and applying colourants that travelled beyond the painter's or the dyer's workshop; and secondly, that this knowledge was culturally relevant to the diverse demographic of a theatre-going audience from at least the late sixteenth century. The material properties of colour were clearly being disseminated, as evident from the playwright's knowledge, via those who worked with colour in a professional capacity, but also via the early modern stage, as colour is privileged in the narrative. Certainly, this attentiveness

to colour as a material is repeated in other plays and by other playwrights, suggesting that both the writer and the audience could relate – whether by practice or by second-hand knowledge – to the sensory and fugitive experience of colour.[62]

Nicholas Hilliard's treatise on limning is only one of many treatises in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that provided detail on the nature of colour and the experience of producing and applying colourants. These treatises were not directed to artisans like Hilliard, but rather, as Robert Tittler explains, they were marketed "as much to the gentleman amateur as to any working craftsman" and indeed, would have rarely been purchased by "provincial painters" (100). The first treatise on limning made available to the English public was the anonymous *Very Proper Treatise, Wherein is Briefly Sett for the Arte of Limning*, which was published in 1573 (Harley 1-2); a treatise that was followed by many others that provided colour advice for painting, including Richard Haydocke's English translation of Giovanni Lomazzo's *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge* (1598); Henry Peacham's *Art of Drawing* (1606), *Gentleman's Exercise* (1612), and *Compleat Gentleman* (1622); William Sanderson's *Graphice* (1658); and Odoardo Fialetti's *The Whole Art of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching* (1660). Unlike the pragmatic, mechanical activities of painting and dyeing practised by artisans, limning was actively promoted as a pastime for gentlemen in early modern English society. In these treatises, a direct address to gentlemen readers is

[62] An almost identical treatment of colour's sensory and fugitive characteristics is presented in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (1611), attributed to Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Middleton. After kissing the lips of The Lady, the usurping King, Tyrant, struggles to ascertain his succeeding sensory experience: "Methinks an evil scent still follows me," he states, to which the rightful monarch, Govianus, replies, "Maybe 'tis nothing but the colour, sir, / That I laid on" (5.2.122, 123). On the difficulties of determining the author(s) of this play, see Purkis and especially chapter three on "Attribution, Collaboration, and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*," 101-40.

commonplace, as the titles of Peacham's treatises suggest.[63] Moreover, the paratextual material surrounding Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* insinuates limning as a skill essential for the well-rounded man, as its title page includes an artist's palette, daubs of paint, and multiple paintbrushes or "pencils" as they were known, visuals that imply the imperative of a knowledge and mastery of colour for gentlemen in early modern England.

What these treatises offered their readers, whether or not they chose to practise limning, was an extensive comprehension of colour as a material substance that was imparted through the lens of a domestic, educational, and social context. The writers explain the basics of colouring, offering practical advice on where to purchase the materials necessary for colouring, describing in detail what pigments should be used and what they look like, and instructing these readers on those household staples, like bread, that could be used to facilitate the colouring process.[64] As well as these rudimentary practicalities, these treatises also communicate colourants' physical and chemical compositions, their sensorial quality, and how these attributes contributed to their individuality, changeability, and malleability in colouring practice. Readers are actively instructed on the sensory skills required to use colour, like those outlined by the miniaturist, Nicholas Hilliard.[65] A tactile understanding of colour is promoted in *A Very Proper Treatise*, whose author advises the reader to choose pigments "bright of

[63] For further examples of addressing gentlemen, see Fialetti's complete title, which includes "published for the benefit of all ingenuous gentlemen". It was even commonplace for a gentleman on his grand tour to carry a sketchbook with him to record his experiences (Gilman 14).

[64] Peacham instructs readers on where to buy grinding stones, paintbrushes, as well as a source for black called Harts horne (*The Art* 46, 47, 60). For more on pigment colours and their description, see Fialetti 8; and on the use of bread in colouring, see Peacham, *The Art* 52, 11.

[65] Hilliard is frequently referenced as worthy of emulation in these treatises, see Lomazzo 126; and Fialetti 11, 24.

colour, and not harshe, but softe between the fingers" (Br). The ingestion of pigments is also promoted, but delivered with provisos, as vermilion, for example, is categorised "a poison" (Peacham, *The Art* 52), unsuitable for tasting. For amateur painters, colour was equally a smelly business as domestically available binding ingredients included materials as diverse, and as pungent, as garlic, onion, honey, vinegar, and for the tempering of a green called "Vertgrese," even the "pisse of a yonge childe" (Lomazzo B3v).[66] The treatises draw attention to the smell of colours and suggest the addition of saffron, described as a yellow, pleasant-smelling spice, in their colour recipes as a practical means of removing less favourable scents.[67] *Arden of Faversham's* emphasis on the noxious smell of colour, therefore, was an aspect of colour use that would have resonated with those who practised or observed limning, or painting more generally, having experienced for themselves the diversity of smells emanating from their tempered colours.

As well as alerting readers that they needed to be sensorially attuned to individual colours, these treatises emulate Hilliard's as they promote an understanding of the fugitive nature of colour. Unlike Hilliard's, these treatises explore and expose the fugitive character of colour by personifying colours as living entities, existing in humanlike fashion along a trajectory between life and death, and whose duration depended on how pigments were tempered and intermingled together by the artist. Prone to fading or drying out, grinding colours on a slate "will kill all colours" (Peacham, *The Art* 47), and if the binding agent used to translate a pigment into a usable paint is too thin, "colure [will] fade & fall of" (*A Very*

[66] For the use of these materials in colour preparation, see *A Very Proper Treatise* C4r; Peacham, *The Art* 49; and Bate 149, 153. Foul smells were also generated by the making of size – a sticky agent used to anneal colours to the painting surface, see Peacham, *The Art* 48, 50-51.

[67] See Peacham, *The Art* 51; *A Very Proper Treatise* Br.

Proper Treatise A3v).[68] The potential death of colours was a primary concern for those painting in the domestic sphere, as Fialetti's treatise offers "A rare Secret to preserve colours" in which the painter is to undertake a chromatic resurrection: "Take Rosemary water distilled, and with a few drops . . . temper your shell of White, and you shall see it become instantly perfect White, how ever dead and faded it was before" (20).

While these treatises promote an understanding of colour's core vulnerability, they also treat colour as fugitive in more than one sense of the term: in addition to the "fugitive" nature of colour as prone to fading, colour is presented as fugitive, meaning "shifting," "a deserter," and "driven out".[69] Colours were not submissive, but rather resisting and rebellious entities, and those who painted required an understanding of colour's reactiveness. In the third book of Lomazzo's treatise, there is a section on the "Natural Agreement and Disagreement Betweene The Colours" (102) that explains:

> some of them are taken from *minerals* and earths, some from the *vegetables*, and some from the *animals*. All which, because they are of diverse natures, require a severall handling, as wel in their working, as in their mixtures: for many of them having a natural antipathy and contrariety with each other, doe destroy and corrupt, or at least blemish each other when they are mixed togither . . . which discorde ariseth not only from the colours themselves, but partly from those moistures wherewith they are grounde. (125)[70]

[68] Philip Ball explains the impact of binding agents, observing that pigments are "glorious as dry powders" but "might become dark or semi-transparent when mixed with a binding agent such as linseed oil" (37).

[69] "fugitive, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2018. Web. 6 April 2018. Def. 3; B1b; and 2.

[70] For colour's reactiveness, see also Lomazzo 102.

Because colours were composed of different source materials, each pigment reacted differently to binding agents and could even be antagonistic towards other colours. Examples of colour combinations to avoid are detailed, including the yellow pigment "Orpiment," which "will ly upon no greene: for all greenes, white lead, Red lead, and Ceruse staine it" (Peacham, *The Art* 59), and "*Indico*," which is "an enemy to drie white, but a friend to all besides" (Lomazzo 102). In this dual presentation of the fragility and reactiveness of colour, *Arden of Faversham*'s use of baleful paint finds further source material. Colours were hostile entities, associated with death, and indeed, morality, as terms such as "blemish," "corrupt," and "stain" are used to describe their affect. For the amateur as much as for the professional painter, applying colour was not solely based on whim, but on the reactiveness of colours as individual substances.

Women and children could be as engaged in painting activity as men. While these treatises were directed at gentlemen readers, the colour knowledge they contained was of importance to a wider audience than their addresses suggest.[71] As aforementioned, a familiarity with their colour content is pronounced in *Arden of Faversham*, which reached a broad demographic of theatregoers. It is believed that Lady Anne Drury painted her closet with mottos and emblems at Hawstead Place in Suffolk (Bowden 92), and women shared their understanding of applying colour with other women, as Lady Carlisle is purported to have taught Queen Henrietta Maria how to paint (K. Parker 268). Children were encouraged to engage with colour in the form of painting. In his educational treatise, *Positions* (1581) Richard

[71] Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* suggests his own familiarity with colour's materiality. He writes of how "Colours goe, and colours come" (4) in "*Why Flowers Change Colour*" (15), and in "*To the Painter, to draw him a Picture*" (38), Herrick is conversant with pigment names as he lists "*Bice . . . Umber, Pink* and *Lake*" (2). Moreover, in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*, King Henry refers to "water-colours" (5.1.80). According to Leah Marcus, John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (1614) makes an implicit reference to Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*. See the footnote for 1.2.346 (165).

Mulcaster outlines guidelines primarily for the education of boys in which he considers the "setting of colours" as a training principle as he discusses the arts of writing and drawing (35).[72] In chapter thirty-eight of his treatise, Mulcaster also affords a place for painting in girls' education because he believed it could improve their needlework skills (181).[73] This engagement with colouring was as much advised as practised amongst boys; Robert Herrick's poetry collection *Hesperides* (1648), features a poem titled, "*To his Nephew, to be prosperous in his art of Painting*," a poem that situates Herrick as fostering his nephew's engagement with colouring (150). Likewise, painting was practised by young girls. Lady Anne Clifford, for instance, painted as a young girl, as chapter two will illuminate, while Elizabeth Isham, the daughter of John Isham, a justice of the peace in Northamptonshire (Frye 125), records in her diary "I panted" (painted) in 1623 and 1624, when she was fifteen and sixteen years old respectively.[74] The material understanding that painting required was, therefore, for some in early modern England, a lifelong process of learning and engagement, and a knowledge that was deemed worthy of passing on to the next generation.

The impact of a close engagement with colour is illustrated in Lady Mary Carey's autobiographical poem "Upon the Sight of My Abortive Birth The 31st of December 1657," in which Carey draws on the experience of limning to describe in writing how it felt to gaze on her deceased baby:

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[72] Here he argues that if a child progresses in their learning because of working with colour, they should engage with colouring because it was "aunciently allowed," dating back to "*Apelles*" (36).

[73] Bathshua Makin, who was governess to Charles I's daughter, and administrator of several schools, wrote in *An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673), "Those that please may learn limning" (187), suggesting that limning continued to feature in girls' education into the late seventeenth century.

[74] All Isham quotations used in this thesis have been sourced from the online resource, *Constructing Elizabeth Isham 1609-1654,* which provides a transcription of Isham's diary and *Book of Rememberance*.

May be the Lord looks for more Thankfulness,

And high Esteem for those I do possess:

As Limners draw dead Shades for to set forth

Their lively Colours, & their Picture's Worth,

So doth my God, in this, as all things wise,

By my dead, formless Babe teach me to prize:

My living, pretty Pair. . . . (55)

In her emotive account, Carey compares her baby to a limner's "dead Shades". While "Shades" are reminiscent of ghosts or spirits (Adcock, Read, and Ziomek 69), dead-colouring was a procedure in limning. Painting involved several processes of which dead-colouring was practised in the first and sometimes second sitting. As a preliminary technique, Carey's use of dead-colouring implies that her miscarriage occurred in the early stages of her pregnancy. Certainly, to dead-colour was to lay rudimentary colours "with faint and gentle Stroaks" onto the page before the setting on of more detailed colours (Fialetti 15). For Carey, the analogy of dead-colouring, of a limner's incomplete artwork, is akin to God's creation of her child, brought into view in its preparative stages, incomplete because the full breadth of colours have not yet been applied. While Carey's metaphor of dead-colouring is testament that she may have practised, or at least observed, the process for herself, her use of the technique as an emotional outlet for her grief is indicative of her profound, personal connection with the materiality of colour. At the same time, Carey's figurative use of colour's materiality is testament to her belief that those who read her elegy will have a similar connection to draw upon.

Certainly, colouring was specifically encouraged as a woman's practice in early modern England, and this is evidenced in culinary texts, which were immensely popular in the late

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Wall, "Literacy" 387).[75] These texts both incited women to be attuned to the colour of food and to chromatically alter their culinary creations. One such text is Sir Hugh Plat's *Delightes for Ladies* (1602), which advises readers on how to colour sugar plate:

> Sap-greene must be tempred in a little Rosewater, having some gumme first dissolved therein, and so laye it on with a pensill upon your paste in apt places. With saffron you may make a yellow colour in the like manner, first drying and powdering your saffron, and after it hath coloured the Rosewater sufficientlie, by strayning it through fine linnen. (C4v)

The procedure Plat outlines for applying either a green or a yellow is reminiscent of that found in limning treatises, not an entirely surprising correlation as Plat himself practised limning (Wheeler 55). What the steps Plat provides give prominence to, however, is how domestic practices of colouring could imitate those of professional colour-cultures. Women who followed Plat's recipe directly engaged in similar processes to painters as they applied colour with a paintbrush, and tempered their pigments, as they dried and ground saffron, and as they mingled the binding agent of gum to sap-green.[76] Painting and cooking with colours were endeavours that also intersected because of their shared practice of tasting pigments. In John Murrel's *Daily Exercise* (1617), he advises women "Of Colours that may be eaten" (112), in which he outlines which pigments can be safely ingested and therefore used to colour food, to avoid injury or poisoning. Thus, even as they cooked, women were gaining insight into the

[75] Chapter two will expand on the cultural connection between women and colour.

[76] For examples of other culinary texts that encourage similar colour observation and colour addition, see *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen* 39-40; Dawson 33-34, 36; Ruthven 25-26; and Wall, *Recipes* 91, 141.

sensory experience and fugitive nature of colour as they required an understanding of how to handle and prepare colours, and as they were advised to be wary of which colours they tasted.[77]

Women's understanding of colour's materiality was also required for, and potentially gleaned from, the cosmetic culture of early modern England. As Karim-Cooper's study, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (2006), highlighted, an encompassing social spectrum of women wore makeup or "fucus," as it was commonly known – as indeed did men, as players in the professional theatre required cosmetics to signify their character type as women, ghosts, or spirits (48).[78] The third book of Lomazzo's treatise makes women's connection with painting clear as it presents a section on "the Painting of Woemen," which describes cosmetic application as the "laying on of materiall colours" (127); colours that are also of the mineral, vegetable, and animal sources used for painting pigments (129; Peacham, *The Gentleman's* 133), and colours that were also laid using a "pencil" (Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 1).[79] Although the canvas for colouring was changed – from parchment to the face – women were still required to be aware of the reactive and fugitive nature of their cosmetic colours. In the comedy *Wit of a Woman*, the feigning painter-tutor, Rinaldo, presents two boxes which he claims contain "complexion," the "one white, the other red" (E2r), presumably ceruse – a mixture of vinegar and white lead – and vermillion, the two pigments used in cosmetics

[77] That colouring food with pigments was culturally observed is evident as the clown in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* (1610) insists on procuring "saffron to colour the warden pies" (4.3.42), suggesting that English society was familiar with the practice of tinting and shading food.

[78] For the term "fucus," see Tuke A4v.

[79] So connected were the arts of painting and cosmetic application that in *Wit of a Woman*, Rinaldo, who poses as a painter, can "sell complexion" (Ev), and in Middleton's *Owl's Almanac* (1618), the painter is reassured that "O, but our sweet-faced gentlewomen will keep your profession in great request" (2366-67). Furthermore, Edward Phillips defines "pigment" as "a kind of painting wherewith women colour their faces" (Hhv).

(Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 165). He resists, however, revealing the contents of these boxes, justifying this by referring to the fragility of their contents: "I would not wish to open them," he explains, "till you have neede, & then in a close chamber for the ayre is very hurtfull to them" (E2r). If these pigments were as vulnerable as Rinaldo states, then ironically the same material used by early modern women to conceal their imperfections, or like Elizabeth I, to conceal their age, had the practical implication of possessing limited lifespans and an ever-degrading quality on exposure.[80] Women, therefore, like those who limned, may have observed their colours deteriorate over time. Moreover, as with limners, women were likely to have an olfactory and taste experience of their colours, especially as "ceruse or white lead," applied to whiten the face, was constituted of lead but also the pungent ingredient of vinegar (Lomazzo, Book 3, 130; Peacham, *The Gentleman's* 77). The sensory experience of both white lead and vermillion could only have been heightened by their proximity to the sensory organs, applied across the face and nose, and vermillion used to redden lips (Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 45,12). Moreover, if the combination of lead and vinegar is, as Haydocke's translation claims, "a great drier" (Lomazzo, Book 3, 130), then colour on the skin could also have been experienced haptically. Such a profusion of sensory experience could only have heightened women's (or men's) awareness of both the materiality of the colours they applied and the chemically reactive processes involved in colouring.

An intimate knowledge of colour was also fostered by the extensive practice of dyeing outside of a traditional dye-house setting. This was, at times, cosmetic in nature, as Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) documents in the "Abuses of Womens Apparell": "if any have heyre, which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into diverse colors" (F3r). But

[80] For concealment of physical appearance, see Karim-Cooper's section, "She shal Appeare to be the Age of Fifteene Yeares" in chapter two of *Cosmetics* 49-63.

dyeing within the domestic sphere was also necessitated by the expense and vulnerability of clothing.[81] Individual access to colourful clothing was subject to wealth and status, as clothing colours were circumscribed by sumptuary laws, while superior dyes – those of the boldest hues – could inflate the price of cloth "tenfold," meaning certain colours were not economically feasible for all in early modern society (Delamare and Guineau 42). For those with little household income, undyed russet gowns made of wool were the most viable option for clothing, while the middling sort tended to separate their everyday attire from "holiday" wear (James 271), conserving their most brightly coloured clothes for special occasions. Clothing was so valuable that it was often passed down as an heirloom, even in wealthy households, as is often evinced in extant wills as mothers leave their daughters or their servants' gowns or money for gowns. In a diary entry made in 1641, Isham records how her father presented her with his late wife's "black velvet gown". Because of this, clothing colours were often determined by what previous generations had chosen or had access to and even if one could afford to purchase coloured clothing, the colours of these items were subject to staining with everyday household activities, and susceptible to fading with washing or time – especially if the textile in use was a well-worn heirloom. Consequently, early moderns were keenly aware of the fugitive nature of colour, witnessing its fragility first-hand via the garments they, or others around them, wore. Due to their expense, clothes tended not to be discarded when stained or faded or exhibiting a hue unfavourable to the owner; rather, practical solutions for preserving clothing colours or transforming clothing colours were sought. In the marginalia of a letter dated August 1593, the actor and theatre entrepreneur, Edward Alleyn, offers evidence of an individual seeking the chromatic alteration of his garments, as he leaves the following instruction for his wife: "lett my orayng tawny stokins of wolen be dyed a very goof blak

[81] On the importance of clothing in the period, see Jones and Stallybrass 9-10; and Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds" 289-320.

against I com hom to wear in the winter" (Foakes 275). For some in early modern England, this chromatic alteration involved the employment of professional dyers; for others, home solutions were sought for colouring, many of which are detailed in extant household guidebooks.

One of the most popular manuals printed in the late sixteenth century was Girolamo Ruscelli's *Secrets of the Reuerend Maister Alexis of Piemont* (1580), whose 350 recipes were translated for an English readership by William Warde (Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 50). Books of Secrets, like Ruscelli's, were regarded as "how to" manuals that claimed to uncover and offer artisanal techniques for readers to emulate within their homes (Eamon 4, 5), and one such procedure provided by Ruscelli is for the dyeing of "Crimsen Silke":

> First cut in sonder, or scrape hard sope small, and melt it in common water, then tacke your silke in a Linnen bagge, or of fine canvas and thin, and put it in a kettle with the saied water and sope. Let it boile halfe an hower…then take it out and washe it in salt water, and after in freshe water. Take also for every pounde of silke, a pounde or more of roche Alome…put it wet as it is in a kettle with the Crimsen. (88)

Ruscelli's instructions highlight a physical investment in colouring fabrics that extended beyond the dyer's workshop but that directly emulated the artisan's practices of chopping, boiling, and temperature and acidity regulation as the reader is advised to "cut," to "boile," and to utilise "Alome," which would alter the solution's acidity. Moreover, the proliferation of active verbs associated with the individual dyeing, including, "scrape," "washe," and "boile," are resonant of the proficient dyer in Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*. Further textual examples highlight the demand for expertise on how to colour fabrics and for knowledge of how to preserve the existing colouration of garments. In 1583, Leonard Mascall published *A Profitable Boke*, which provides practical recipes for colouring fabrics. Here, readers are

alerted to the reality that different fabrics command different dyeing processes, as Mascall separates his recipes based on the nature of the cloth. These include dyeing wool red or yellow (C2v, C3r), silk purple or carnation (Dv, D2v), or linen or thread red (C3v). But he also explains how to remove stains (A3r, B2r, Cr), how to prevent stains, especially when a garment undergoes washing (B2r, B3v, B44), and how to remove stains without "chaunging the colours" of the clothing (A3r, A4v, Cv). Whether altering colours, or removing stains, colouring was a necessity of clothing ownership in early modern society.

If early moderns were engaged in colouring clothes in the household, then they were, like professional painters or dyers, keenly aware of the sensory experience of working with colour, and this is gestured to in household manuals on several occasions. Gabriel Plattes' *Discovery of Subterraneall Treasure* (1639) encourages processes and ingredients that directly emulate artisanal techniques. Home dyers are instructed to taste their colours to determine how fugitive they are: "such tinctures," he explains, "which are most firme & fixed, & are not subiect to staining or fading, being tasted upon the tongue, may be felt somewhat sharpish or sowrish" (57-58). Also, like professional artisans, he advises the use of urine as a mordant in his dyeing recipes (C3r). Moreover, Mascall's *Profitable Booke* presents a recipe on how "To perfume cloathes" (A3v). Although a garment's unpleasant smell was due to early moderns' infrequent laundry washing, its scent could also be owing to the pungent nature of the colourants fixed to their fibres.[82] In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), the purple sails of Cleopatra's barge are described by Enobarbus as "so perfumed that / The winds were love-sick with them" (2.2.119-200). One reading of this description is provided by Holly Dugan who has argued that the "oblique olfactory references suggest that perfumes signified

[82] Occasional washing of clothes is a reality alluded to in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*: "when I have held / familiarity with fresher clothes" (5.2.2-3).

Cleopatra's power and desirability in ways visual codes could not capture," depicting this as a power over "her body, representation, and environment" (*The Ephemeral* 21, 22). However, a recognition of the colourant used to create Cleopatra's sails offers an alternative reading. Tyrian purple is the most contextually relevant colourant, both because it was the colour of royalty in imperial Rome, and because Cleopatra is situated on water – the sea being natural habitat of the shellfish from which the purple was procured. This knowledge, firstly, highlights that the visual power of purple would have captured Cleopatra's domination over the environment, considering the difficulty involved in procuring the Tyrian pigment, as previously considered. But secondly, Tyrian purple was also renowned for the pungent olfactory experience of its application (St Clair 162; Finlay 405, 409), a factor that would have made the addition of perfume to textiles dyed in the hue necessitous. The sweet smell of the purple sails, therefore, highlights Cleopatra's active control over her representation, but even more so than Dugan has realised, for without the perfume, Cleopatra's desirability may have been compromised by the stench.

These household texts that contain recipes for colouring were directed to a middle-class audience, to those women who were actively involved in the "mechanics of household affairs" (Hull 138); however, their techniques are applicable to men and women and to those from less wealthy families. The title of Leonard Mascall's guide states that his text is "*very necessarie for all men*" and Karim-Cooper asserts that Ben Jonson "unquestionably read *The Secrets of Alexis*" (*Cosmetics* 54). Furthermore, women located geographically in rural areas, or socially within the "labouring poor," were often participants in the cloth trade.[83] Regardless of whether they were literate enough to read these manuals, they would have been proficient in similar

[83] I use Keith Wrightson's term "labouring poor" to describe the lower echelon of early modern society, in contradistinction to those in a privileged or middling situation (36).

colouring techniques, as they were expected to weave, spin, or dye textiles within the household to enhance their family's economic stability (Frye 161).[84] Certainly, Mascall's inclusion of colouring or maintaining the colour of a wide range of fabrics, from velvet to wool, suggests that he was writing for a socially varied readership.

That early moderns were actively involved in, or had at the very least a knowledge of, dyeing or had observed the fugitive quality of their clothing colours is textually recorded. Edward Alleyn's dyeing request, for example, not only demonstrates his desire for a chromatic change, but also an understanding of which colour changes are materially feasible as one can easily dye a garment darker than its existing colour.[85] While Alleyn desires a colour change, John Donne's *Anatomy of the World* (1611) draws on the chromatic quality of re-dyed garments to explain creation's deterioration as he observes, "And color is decayed: summer's robe grows / Dusky, and like an oft-dyed garment shows" (B3v-B4r). Like Donne, Thomas Middleton's pamphlet, *The Owl's Almanac* (1618), also displays his colour understanding as he addresses dyers:

> And for you, dyers, your colours shall be washed off this year better than ever they were; your dye shall be so slightly grounded, yet as well beloved as ever they have been, men shall be so light-minded. A good blast of wind shall blow away a sea-water green, and a forty miles journey will banish a garden violet. . . . (1894-1900)

Those factors known to degrade textiles of humidity, dye concentration, wind, and time are presented – albeit hyperbolically – to an English readership, highlighting at once Middleton's

[84] Mascall claims to provide readers with a recipe to "die a black after the common sort of the countrey women" (H2v), highlighting dyeing as a rural activity.

[85] John Donne's "Defence of Womens Inconstancy" in *Juvenilia* (1633), like Alleyn, recognises how "the Colour that is most light, will take most dyes" (1).

own experience of how fragile the substance of colour is and, significantly, his belief that his readership could engage in his humorous portrayal, as individuals who could relate to this experience of the fugitive nature of dyed garments.

There were multifarious means by which individuals and collectives came to engage with colour as a material. As men, women, and children mended their clothing, limned, applied cosmetics, or coloured their food, they exhibited not only their impulse to colour, but also their understanding of how to colour, and this understanding extended from the upper echelons of society who limned for leisure to its poorest inhabitants who dyed cloth to generate household income. The "artisanal literacy" of colouring, knowledge gleaned by experience, was being disseminated, subsumed, and practised in early modern England, in social, domestic, and educational contexts. So much so, in fact, that painter-stainers even petitioned to Elizabeth because unqualified painters, who were unattached to the Painter-Stainers' Company were presenting commercial competition (Baty 72). The experience of colour in early modern society was relevant to the extent that early modern writers embedded their personal and cultural colour-understanding within their narratives. For those who documented colour in words, this material understanding of colour was only furthered by the process of writing itself.

Tinting the Script

In the third book of George Puttenham's treatise, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), entitled "Of Ornament," Puttenham describes writing as a form of colouring:

> This ornament we speake of is given to it by figures and figuratiue speaches, which be the flowers as it were and coulours that a Poet setteth upon his language by arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold upon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulours upon his table of pourtraite: so neverthelesse as if the same coulours in our arte of Poesie (as well as in

> those other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be used in excesse, or never so litle disordered or misplaced, they not onely give it no maner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the stuffe and spill the whole workmanship taking away all bewtie and good liking from it. (115)

While Puttenham's colours are rhetorical flourishes, his understanding of these colours is distinctly material. These colours can disfigure, and they can be spilled. Colouring with words, he explains, is like an artist who "setteth" or "bestoweth" his "rich" and "well layd" colours, or it is like an embroiderer threading gold wire into the body of a garment ("passement" is a "strip of braiding, usually made with gold or silver wire").[86] In a similar fashion to working with pigments, if words are not "well tempered," or used in the right way, they lose their aesthetic quality and impact. It is not far-reaching to argue that the figurative colours Puttenham describes bear correlation to the colourful materiality of writing in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Writing was not only a figurative form of colouring; writing in practice involved a consciousness of colour as a material.[87] Writing involved preparation such as cutting quills and purchasing pages, but it also involved – to a lesser or greater extent, depending on the writer's preferences and financial resources – the preparation and application of colour. Writers could engage with the same materials, practise the same processes and techniques, and share the same material concerns of painters and dyers in early modern England as they approached their page and applied their script.

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[86] "passement, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 10 January 2018. Def. a.

[87] For further examples of the connection between writing and colouring, see *The Wit of a Woman*, as Isabella asks Rinaldo, "How now Sir? what can you paint words as well as faces?" (D2v); and Sir John Beaumont's "To His Late Majesty Concerning the True Form of English Poetry" in which English poets are to "mix their colours" and "temper" verses (6, 14).

It is common to consider early modern writing as a black and white exercise, but writing was a colourful endeavour, and could involve several chromatic decisions as ink, pages, and even quills, were subject to tinting or dyeing. While there were different writing hands employed, including Secretary, Roman, Gothic, and Italic script, there could also be differently coloured typography, as James Daybell has outlined varied colours of ink in his study, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (2012).[88] Furthermore, the most basic of writing instruments, the quill, while available to purchase from stationers and booksellers, was most frequently created in the home using feathers from animals as diverse as geese, swans, turkeys, crows, ducks, ravens, and even sometimes from peacocks or pelicans (Daybell 42; Peacham, *Graphice* 16).[89] The variety of animal sources used would have naturally provided feathers of differing base hues, for example there would be a whiteness displayed from a swan or goose feather in comparison with the blackness of a raven's or crow's feathers, or the multifarious colours exhibited by a peacock's feather. But these base materials did not have to retain these colours. William Phillip's *Booke of Secrets* (1596) offers a series of recipes on how to chromatically transform quills into a range of colours, such as green, red, yellow, and black (C4r-4v). In addition to ink and quills, the writing surface itself provided writers with a base colouration that could be altered. Paper, for example, was a material frequently connected with chromatic alteration in household recipes, used for example, as means to "render a face pale" or to "dye a range of objects" (H. Smith, "Women" 24), but it was also treated as a surface for colouring.

To chromatically modify these writing instruments, however, required an intricate understanding of how to prepare and apply colours, and an awareness of colour's reactivity.

[88] See Daybell, 37-41.

[89] There is an instance of writing with a "goose-pen" in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (3.2.41).

Ink could be bought ready-made, but it was simple to manufacture at home and it was common domestic practice to create one's own ink (Johns 109; Scott-Warren, "Reading" 368). Even the most basic ink recipe for black, the essential ink recipe that was taught to early moderns from childhood, instilled an understanding of colour handling.[90] This is evidenced in the following recipe from William Phillip:

> Take an ounce of beaten gaule, three or four ounces of gum Arabicke, put them together in a pot with raine water, and when the gum is almost consumed, strain it through a cloath, and put into it almost halfe a cup of victriall beaten to powder. (A4v)

What Phillip outlines is a tempering process like that practised by painters, as oak galls – the plant source – were to be ground by the writer; gum Arabic, used here as in painting, as a binding agent; and "victriall," which was an iron sulphate (Daybell 38), all provided the core ingredients for making ink, but each element required careful handling.[91] Making ink involved physical exertion, haptic encounters, and even olfactory experiences, as materials traditionally associated with cooking often made their way into ink recipes, including bread and onions (Johns 107). Although black was the most common ink colour, both men and women could and did experiment with more colourful alternatives, which would have furthered their understanding of the unique characteristics and tempering processes required for individual colourants.

While inks in colours beyond black were much more difficult to make (Bloy 30), such practice is observable in William Strachey's 1612 manuscript of *The First Decade Conteining*

[90] For instructing children on ink making, see Daybell 38. Heather Wolfe has remarked on how nearly all female receipt books from the seventeenth century detail recipes for making black ink (29).

[91] Shakespeare refers to the material constituents of ink in *Twelfth Night* and in *Cymbeline* as characters draw attention to the gall present in ink (3.2.41; 1.1.102).

the Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (see Fig. 2) as Strachey uses black and red inks interchangeably in his writing, employing red as a means of highlighting key terms. Recipes for coloured inks were actively promoted to men and women in the period. As Peacham's *Art of Drawing* provides a section entitled "Of making inkes of sundry colours," which includes Strachey's red and black, as well as green, yellow, blue, and white (61).[92] Many of those recipe books and household manuals explicitly directed at women contain recipes for a variety of inks, and one such text is John Partridge's *Widowes Treasure* (1595). Partridge provides a varied spectrum of ink colours, which range from red, black, and gold to green, and emerald green (B4r-B5v). To make these multifarious hues, writers would have engaged with those pigments employed by painters and dyers, for as Francisco Dickinson outlines in *A Precious Treasury of Twenty Rare Secrets* (1649), "If you would have your letters blew, take Indigo, if green, Verdigreace" (A2v).[93] But because of their shared material constituents, inks were susceptible to the same issues as paint. As recipes suggest, inks could freeze, bleed through pages, or wear away with handling (Peacham, *The Art* 62; Phillip Br; *A Very Proper Treatise* C2v), and this being the case, writers would also have been keenly aware of fugitive nature of colour. Black pigments, in particular, tend to "clump" during their preparation (Delamare and Guineau 49), a reality that would only have furthered the writer's consciousness of ink's colourful substance as they attempted to create and apply it. Therefore, in even the most basic of their practices –

[92] For other instances of recipes for colourful inks, see Bate 162; and Ruscelli 119.

[93] Shakespeare's plays present coloured substances as writing materials. *3 Henry VI,* includes the lines, "Write up his title with usurping blood" (1.1.170), and "Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood" (5.1.56); and in *King John,* Constance refers to "golden letters" (3.1.11). As does Thomas Middleton in *Anything for a Quiet Life,* which mentions "your fasting day before red letters in the almanac" (5.1.75), and in *The Spanish Gypsy*: "I have laid up, / In bloody characters, a tale of horror." (3.3.49), which is accompanied by the stage directions, "*she gives him a paper, written with blood*" (3.3).

the creation of ink – writers, shared a similar colour knowledge and colour experience as professional colourists.

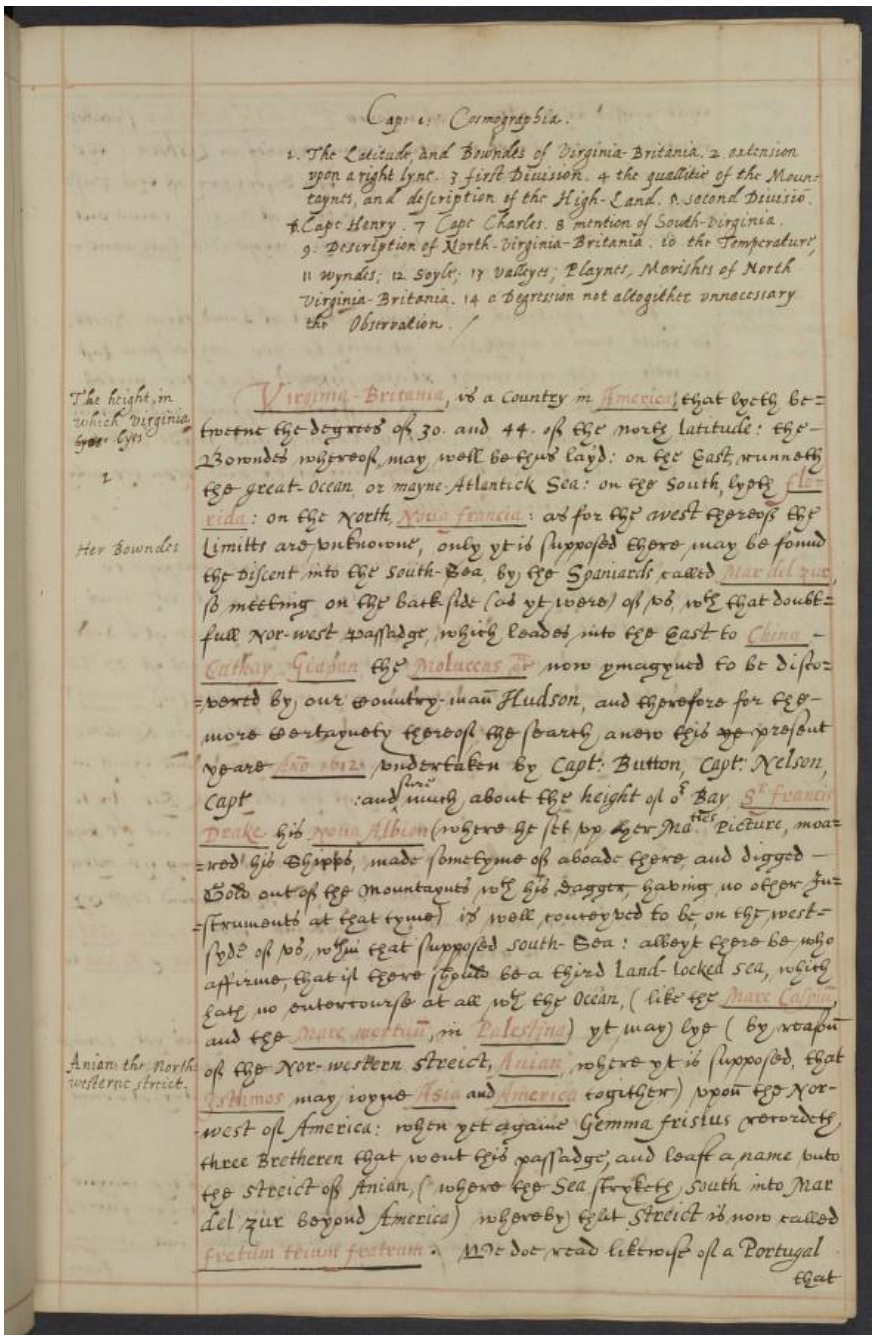

Fig. 2. A page from William Strachey's manuscript of *The First Decade Conteining the Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*. 1612. Princeton University. 43. Web. 28 Mar. 2018. <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/kp78gk00d>.

This awareness of colour could be furthered if writers also chose to modify the colouration of their other writing tools. William Phillip explains that "To die quils greene" (C4r), one starts with a pigment, which in this case is "verdigreece". This pigment is then ground, treated with the mordant of vinegar, and steeped until the quill exhibits the shade of green the writer desires (C4r-C4v), a process that directly draws on that practised in dyeing. Moreover, the surface that the writer used to write on presented its own colouration. Paper colours were determined by their quality and cost as the best pages provided a creamy-tinted tinge, whereas poorer paper exhibited grey or brown hues, while those who could afford the option could choose to purchase coloured paper, whether black, gold, or silver (Daybell 34, 35; Phillip Cr). Indeed, as Juliet Fleming's *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (2001) has uncovered, early moderns wrote on a wide range of surfaces, ranging from paper to furniture, and from walls to glass (9). These alternative surfaces would have also presented their own colours, determining which colours writers could apply onto them. Indeed, colourful stained-glass panes, or even standard glass in the period, tended to present a green tinge (L. Knight 21). Black ink, for example, would be an unsuitable choice for black paper, but black, whether as ink, chalk, or paint, would be a suitable choice for a windowpane or a whitewashed wall. The colour of the writing surface, therefore, was a determining factor in how writers tinted their script. But if using paper, writers had the option of altering the chromatics of their writing surface, rather than necessarily the colour of their medium, whether ink or otherwise. This practice was encouraged in household manuals and books of secrets, including William Phillip's *Booke of Secrets* (1596), which outlines how "To colour parchment and velim of divers colors":

> Take as much parchment or velim as you will, and fasten it at the corners and sides with nailes vnto a bord, with the smooth side outwards, annoint it then with what colour you

> will, be it yellow, blew, red or black, such as you find set down in this booke, let it drie well, then stroke it ouer, and let it drie in a place, where no dust is stirring. (C4v)

Phillip's recipe reveals the chromatic possibilities available to writers, as paper can be made yellow, blue, red, black, or any number of colours, depending on whim, but it also reveals the material similarities of colouring the page, and colouring with paint. To colour in both instances required an alertness to the substance of colour and to those factors that affected its quality, which Phillip implies in his instruction to "annoint" (meaning "To moisten or rub" or "To apply or pour on oil") the page with colour, a verb that indicates the level of care required with its ceremonial connotations.[94] Colouring the page requires a similar sensory engagement to that exhibited in limning, as the writer is required to determine the smooth side of the page, and to "stroke" the page to check if the colours have dried.[95] But in addition to this haptic quality of colouring, the writer is also to be aware of those factors that impinge on colour's quality, as Phillip explains that they are to carry out this colouration in a dust-free environment. The sensory and fugitive awareness that was instilled in writers via Phillip's *Book of Secrets* was actively procuring those skills of colouring required in limning treatises, like Hilliard's, revealing the transferability of colour knowledge across writing manuals, dyeing and culinary recipes, and limning treatises.

What is evident is that colour framed the writing experience. To write was to experience colour and to be conscious of colour, for writing was predicated on the act of colouring. Writers were engaged with the question of colour as they sat down to write, as they handled, prepared, and applied colour. Across limning treatises, housewifery guides, and books of secrets, early

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[94] "anoint, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 9 March 2018. Def. 4, and 2a.

[95] James Daybell explains this textual difference, as paper production left one side of a page smoother than the other (33).

moderns were being exposed to the possibility of making alternative chromatic choices, of whether they wanted to colour their quills, their pages, or their writing ink. These options were possible because manuals provided the practical knowledge of how to colour-in the writer's tools, and by putting this knowledge into practice, writers gained a similar artisanal literacy to those working in colour industries, and to those colouring their pages, bodies, or fabrics, in the domestic sphere. Indeed, even those who wrote without ink, quill, or page could gain an insight into colour's materiality; for an awareness of colour's fragility, as inculcated by the practice of using ink, was also available to those without financial means. Those unable to afford to buy or make ink tended to write with chalk, pencil, or charcoal and these writing media make marks without longevity, gradually fading with time or easily wiped away by readers (Fleming, *Graffiti* 50; Peacham, *The Art* 11). Writing, therefore, was another means of being experimental with colour in the period, but the processes of preparing for writing, and applying words to a surface also illuminate the importance of colour for writers. For those who wrote, and especially for those who wrote about colour – whether in relation to technical processes of colouring, to comment on colour, or to draw upon colour in figurative ways – writing was itself a sensuous colour experience. In early modern England, to write about colour is to experience colour.

Colourific Culture

This chapter has revealed that colour in early modern England was not simply constrained by heraldic codes or by sumptuary law. Instead, colour was an experiential reality for many in the period. Colour was a livelihood, and colour permeated everyday practice and everyday sightlines, transforming the artisanal literacy of colour – once the remit of professional cultures – into a requirement for several domestic activities. The wealth of literature that disseminates the minutiae of colour preparation and colour handling is testament to a nascent domestic audience for detailed colour knowledge throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Certainly, the creative use of colour for plotlines and characterisation in poetry, prose, and drama, and specifically their representation of colour's sensuous, reactive, and fugitive nature, highlights either these writers' assimilation of chromatic knowledge from what they have read, or even their first-hand experience of using colourants to alter their clothing or to attach their words onto pages.

Colour knowledge was being gleaned by reading and by practice, for colour, as previously stated, does not require words. Therefore, it is imperative to recognise that colour understanding could have been shared by demonstration, by observation, or by trial and error, as much as by literature or word-of-mouth, and as a result, this literature gestures to wider instances of contemporary practice that incorporate the literate and the less-formally educated alike. Indeed, as stated, not all who worked in colour industries would have been literate. Moreover, that dramatists could draw on the properties of colour within their script highlights the relevance of colour for English society across social and educational contexts, while also revealing the role of literature in disseminating colour ideas and colour understanding. Whether by practice or by reading, early modern society was colour literate.

What is also transparent from engaging with colour across professional and domestic cultures is how much more impactful colour was for early moderns than can be appreciated today. To encounter colour was an experience, an event – it had the potential to be an immersive, bodily experience. Colour emitted sights, smells, and presented different corporeal qualities. But colour was also unreliable; colour was prone to fading and to freezing and was greatly challenging to work with as a result. The literature dealing with colouring highlights that the complexity involved in creating usable colourants and in applying these colourants required an immense level of concentration, care, and proficiency, both of a cognitive and of a corporeal nature. As this thesis progresses into its study of different contexts for experiencing colour in early modern England, it does so with an understanding that colour is not to be treated

– whether as a visual or textual quality – as gratuitous, but as carefully considered and as a significant investment of one's body, time, and money. Colour and colouring occurs across media, and in multiple contexts of lived experience in early modern England. The workplace and the home are just two of the examples of domains for experiencing colour examined in this chapter, and the next chapter considers further the colourscape of the household as it explores the implications of women being encouraged to colour. What becomes clear is that the early modern impetus to colour was both pervasive and persuasive, altering interiors, altering landscapes, and always altering how writers conceived of colour.

Chapter Two: Weaving Words with Colour

Contained within a commonplace book is the following poem by an anonymous "Gentlewoman," entitled, "A Gentlewoman yt married a Yonge Gent who after forsook whereuppon she tooke hir needle in which she was excelent and worked upon hir Sampler thus":

Come give me needle stitchcloth silke and haire,

That I may sitt and sigh and sow and singe,

For perfect collours to discribe the aire

A subtile persinge changinge constant thinge.

No false stitch will I make my hart is true,

Plaine stitch my sampler is for to complaine

Now men have tongues of hony, harts of rue,

True tongues and harts are one, Men make them twain.

Giue me black silk that sable suites my hart

And yet some white though white words do deceive

No greene at all for youth and I must part,

Purple and blew, fast love and faith to weave.

Mayden no more spleapeless ile go to bed

Take all away, the work works in my hedd. (155-56)[96]

This poem invites investigation for its weaving together of needlework, writing, and colour with a woman's experience. Commonplace books, like the one this poem is contained in, were spaces for documenting reading activity, but they were also spaces for recording momentous life experiences (Hackel 148), and this lyric is perceptibly a reflection on the writer's personal history. It blends together, as Helen Wilcox has outlined, "the characteristic construction of female experience" ("Lyric" 208), including a reference to the woman's transition from a maiden to a wife, one of the most important steps of a woman's lifecycle in early modern England (Fraser 11). Scholars including Helen Wilcox, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass have concentrated on this poetic example as an expression of the female experience of working with textiles (Wilcox, "Lyric" 208; Jones and Stallybrass 143), but their studies neglect to consider the lyric's sustained and significant investment in colour. Although samplers often created images, the reader does not glean any sense of any forms; there is no mention of flowers, or fruits, or other visual motifs commonly found on surviving examples. Instead, the reader is opaquely informed of the writer's purpose for this piece, which is – quite simply – to find "perfect collours to discribe the aire" and thus, this lyric situates its narrator at the moment of chromatic selection, perhaps even before a single stitch is made.

The poet-narrator's statement of intent is telling for what it reveals about female understandings of colour, construed as it is here as a means to "describe the aire," with "aire"

[96] Unfortunately, the authorship and date of composition of this poem are unknown factors (Stevenson and Davidson 155). Jones and Stallybrass outline that this poem is contained within a commonplace book but do not offer any further details, nor a primary source (143). I have not been able to glean specific information about this source, perhaps due to the fact that commonplace books are renowned for their "difficulties of identification and attribution" (Wilcox, '"My Hart"' 450).

punning both on her song, and the experience of her immediate surroundings.[97] The speaker recognises that colour is both visually and textually meaningful as the lyric is treated simultaneously as a needled and a penned work, using colour as threads and colour as words and symbols to rationalise and express her emotional turmoil at the unforeseen loss of her husband. She finds in coloured threads a means of expressing her experience as each coloured thread engenders a mode of thinking, communicating an element of the speaker's story: she dismisses green because she is no longer a maid, rendering it irrelevant to her experience, while she unites purple and blue as a show of her faithfulness.[98] As the poem situates itself within a domestic setting, it also positions itself within a female community as the writer's instructions to "Come" and "Give" and "Take" present a woman surrounded by other women who enable her needlework activity. By weaving in their presence throughout the poem, the poet-narrator registers the connection of the wider female community to the activity of choosing and applying coloured threads.

According to Pamela S. Hammons, gender "profoundly marked a person's manner of relating to the things making up her or his world" (6). When engaging with the question of women and colour, scholarship has tended to concentrate on the Petrarchan tradition of female beauty and its codification of the colours red and white.[99] However, this focus privileges the male's poetic gaze, rather than women's lived experiences of colour. Consequently, in the following chapter, I attend to Hammons's assertion of a gendered experience as I examine the household colourscape, asking: where did women see, connect with, and respond to colour? My argument is that textiles, while exceedingly important to early modern society generally, were so central to women's experience in early modern England – domestically, socially, and,

[97] "air, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 23 June 2017. Def. 10 (a), 11 and 3 (a).

[98] 'Azure [blue] is constant' wrote William Cavendish in his *Country Captaine*, published 1649 (28).

[99] See, for example, Woodbridge 247-97; and Duncan-Jones 479-501.

as chapter one revealed, for many economically – that their conception of colour is often predicated on their familiarity with colourful threads and fabrics.[100] As such, this chapter attempts to unravel the connection between women and colourful textiles in their writing by attending to their material and subsequent metaphorical use of colour. Because I consider textiles alongside women's writing, this chapter concentrates its investigation on the experiences of elite and middling women, recognising that these women were afforded the opportunity to develop their literacy skills and to write creatively. This recognition also alters the nature of the textile work under exploration in this chapter, which foregrounds the practice of embroidery, the decorative art of affluent women (Jones and Stallybrass 134).

This chapter begins by exploring the viewing and altering of textiles, emphasising that embroidery provided a site of colour contact and a tactility with colour that informed how women thought about chromatics. This section considers women's occupational connection with colour, and positions women as creators, viewers, and restorers of colour. This conceptualisation of women's colour-thinking has been determined by dual factors: firstly, women's direct experience of colour, as salient through an understanding of the mechanics and appearance of textiles; and secondly, the representation of women's experience, as afforded by primarily male sources. The relationship between women and colour is furthered in an interrogation of women's reading and writing practices, as I explore how these practices interacted with needlework and provided the colourful undertones for a woman's literary output.

By attending to women's experience of their colourful artistic output, this chapter seeks to further scholarship that has engaged with the relationship between early modern writing and

[100] Jones and Stallybrass have argued that "fabrics were central both to the economic and social fabrication of Renaissance Europe and to the making and unmaking of Renaissance subjects" (14).

the visual arts.[101] To date in these discussions, male-authored texts have been given priority. For example, Lucy Gent writes that "there comes a point when real visual experience affects what the writer comments on in the pictures *he* describes" (5; emphasis added). Similarly, Rebecca Olson's study, *Arras Hanging* (2013), argues that Shakespeare, Chapman, Dekker, and Lyly draw on the tapestry metaphor to highlight their writing skill, their poetic structure, and to emphasise the long-established "association between storytelling and weaving" (2).[102] By contrast, the final strand of this chapter weaves together textile and textual creations as it explores examples of women writers in the period who draw expressly on coloured fabric and colourful threads in their literary creations. Women writers considered in this final section include Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney Herbert, Mary Wroth, and Amelia Lanyer. While this chapter recognises its reliance on the representation of women's experience – as provided by male authors – its examination of these women's writings illuminates that there is a tangible connection between these representations and women's experiences of colour in early modern England.

As I consider the household colourscape, and its implications for women's colour-thinking and writing, I draw on Lucy Gent's approach in her study *Picture and Poetry 1560-1620* (1981). Her intent, as articulated, is to reveal that "the way they [poets] looked at pictures influenced, in some respects, the way they wrote their poetry" (3). In a similar way, by attending to women's autoptic experience of textiles and writing – how they coloured their homes and tinted their scripts – and to portrayals of women from the period, I elucidate how women's intimate understanding of cloth manufacture informed the colourful quality of their literary output. Drawing examples from women's narratives in the period, including their wills,

[101] For a discussion on the visual arts in early modern culture, see Gent and Dundas.

[102] Olson writes that "arras hangings represent an aesthetic to which early modern writers aspired" (1), which enabled their texts to be "read like Tapestries" (2).

diaries, poetry, and novels, I argue that colour as a textual quality, across a variety of forms, can serve to gender writing, as colour's affiliated textile metaphors in literature by women writers perceptibly capture a glimpse of female experience.

Domestic Colouring

As the transformation of Shakespeare's Birthplace revealed, early modern homes were not the bare, bland spaces once conceived.[103] Public and domestic spaces could be vibrantly decorated with an array of media, including ceramics or wall paint, but also with a vast array of textiles including painted cloths, tapestries, curtains, coverlets, bedding, and rugs.[104] Traditionally textiles were the mainstay of public places of note, such as Churches, courts, royal processions, and even inns, which William Harrison describes in his *Description of England* (first published in 1577), as being "very well furnished with napery, bedding, and tapestry" (397).[105] Textiles featured prominently in the domestic interiors of the nobility, but by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were a visual reality in households across the social spectrum in England (Olson 6). Harrison observes this phenomenon, stating that in addition to the wealthiest factions of society who display an "abundance of arras" and "rich hangings of tapestry," the "interior artificers and farmers" have "for the most part learned also to garnish their . . . joint beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine

[103] For the chromatic alteration that took place at Shakespeare's Birthplace, see the introduction to this study.

[104] Regarding the use of wall paint, see Fleming, *Graffiti* 61-67; and Hamling and Richardson, who have uncovered the prevalence of wall painting, especially in the bedchambers of the middling sort 30-39, 46-47, 53, 122, 196-200. On the ubiquity and materiality of painted cloths, see Mander; on wall paintings in inns, see Keenan 97.

[105] The Great Bed of Ware, renowned across England, and mentioned by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night* (first performed in 1602; 3.2.39-40), for example, is believed to have been ornately covered with fabrics, as well as an ornately-painted bedframe, a replica of which is observable at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

napery" (200).[106] This widespread use of fabric served practically to soften, warm, and even to demarcate the domestic environment and public spaces, and were to be seen hanging on walls and beds, draped on table tops, and trimming seats. However pragmatically beneficial this fabric was, textiles were also visually consequential, bringing colour into the household. Surrey probate inventories for between 1558-1603 provide examples of the highly coloured textiles people owned and displayed in their houses, which include: "a coverlete of rede and blue" owned by the widow, Alice Mychel; "one payer of read Cortens" and "one payer of grene Curtens," the possessions of the bricklayer, Arthur Talbot; and "on rugg of greene color" displayed in William Parkes' "Parlor" at his abode in Richmond (Herridge 406, 435, 382).[107] These examples testify of early moderns' encounters with domestic colour. Indeed, they attest to Harrison's account of the accessibility of textiles by the late sixteenth century, but also to the accessibility of colour as widows, bricklayers, men and women could own colourful fabrics, whether they were curtains, bedlinens, or rugs. These instances capture the chromatic variety of the early modern interior because of fabrics, revealing that early moderns worked, ate, and slept against colourful backdrops. What is most striking is that these examples demonstrate how the impulse to colour, as outlined in chapter one, extended to the accumulation of multihued domestic furnishings. Yet, what is not immediately perceptible from these examples, and indeed, what has been unnoticed in scholarship, is that as early moderns desired more colourful textiles for their homes or for their bodies, the addition of this colour was often assigned to women.

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[106] For more on the demand for the ownership of textiles across early modern society, see Jenkins, especially the introduction.

[107] The chromatic qualities of early modern fabrics are also evident in poetry. Richard Crashaw writes of "The crimson curtains of thy bed" in his poetry collection *Steps to the Temple,* published in 1646 ("An Himne for the Circumcision day of our Lord" line 6).

Women, of all echelons of society, and of all ages, had an investment in textiles and their colouration that was both of a practical and a moral nature. As chapter one uncovered, men *and* women from urban and agricultural areas of early modern England were engaged in dyeing, if not professionally, then independently in their homes, but in both instances, women were physically involved in the attachment of colour to textiles – carrying the weighted fabric, smelling the dyes, and perceiving the colour transformations. Even if women were not involved in dyeing fabrics, gender ideology in early modern England, as on the Continent, categorised spinning and needlework as woman's labour, and her contribution both to the household and to society (Goggin, "Introduction" 2). Working with fabric, whether producing, repairing, or embellishing cloth – a reality affected by one's place in the social strata – was considered an essential skill for women in early modern England (Goggin, "An *Essamplaire*" 312; Wall, *Staging* 65).[108] For women of lower social standing, spinning was the mainstay of their economic survival; for those dwelling in middling or noble households, it was embroidery that was the preferred female occupation.[109] Needlecraft skills were deemed so essential to women that their tuition, which was carefully gendered, included needlework as a fundamental

[108] John Taylor considers the reparative function of needlework as he writes, "A Needle (though it be but small and slender) / Yet is it both a maker and a mender" (A2r).

[109] Needlework was an imperative for women of all social stations, as is considered by Giovanni Battista Ciotti in his prefatory dedication to Isabel, Dowager of Rutland: "This worke beseemeth Queenes of great renowne, / And Noble Ladies of a high degree: / Yet not exempt for maids of any Towne" (n. pag.). That needlecraft crossed the socio-economic divide is evident in early modern records; Antonia Fraser has noted the example of Jane Martindale who moved to London in 1625 to serve a gentlewoman with her skilled needlework (184-85), while embroidered items were especially esteemed in court circles and frequently presented to Queen Elizabeth I and her attendant ladies as New Year Gifts (Jones and Stallybrass 134; L. Klein 461).

component.[110] For more affluent girls, schooling involved dancing, music, writing, and multiple forms of needlework, including the production of household items such as cushions and clothing (Lamb, "Shall We" 79-80). And although not all girls could avail of such a varied schooling programme, the common strand across all female education – whether provided at school or in the home – was the inclusion of skills deemed essential to domesticity, and although reading and a little writing were useful skills for running households, stitching was foremost (Elk 14-15).[111]

Moreover, this intricate relationship between women and fabric production was considered morally significant. Instead of falling into an idleness that could breed impieties – and lewd behaviour especially – working with the needle was ready evidence of a woman engaged with a worthy endeavour. As such, spinning and needlework were closely related to female chastity, and female honour in Renaissance culture (Jones and Stallybrass 89). The moral imperative on women to work with cloth is encapsulated in Thomas Dekker's *The*

[110] Boys were taught writing skills, Latin, and the Classics, while women had fewer educational opportunities, and these opportunities also varied based on social station (Elk 14). Lamb's article highlights dramatic performances that attest to this gendering of education ("Shall We"), including *The Wit of a Woman* and Robert White's masque, *Cupid's Banishment* (1617), but also of note is *The Antipodes* and the doctor's description of needlework as one of the "arts, which we call womanish" (4.1.125). For more information regarding the differences in women's education based on social status, see McMullen; Bowden 85-96; Charlton; and Charlton and Spufford 50-54.

[111] In her memoirs, Lady Ann Fanshawe records that it was her mother who taught her to sew (Loftis 110), but not all girls were as fortunate to have this one-to-one tuition from their mothers. Antonia Fraser highlights the schooling offered to girls who were either orphaned or from destitute backgrounds, including a Free School at Great Marlow, installed in 1626, to "teach twenty-four girls to knit, spin and make bean-lace," as well as a school for the "Red Maids" of Bristol, set up to teach girls "plain needlework" (166). For women and education, see Bowden 85-96; Charlton; and Charlton and Spufford 50-54.

Shoemakers' Holiday (1599). In this dramatic production, Jane is told by the shoemaker, Simon Eyre, that she "must spin, must card, / must work" while her husband is absent (1.1.230-31).[112] The injunction to sew could also be culturally justified through scripture, and this was often the case in household manuals. In their *Godly Form of Household Government* (1614), the Puritan ministers, John Dod and Robert Cleaver, foreground Dorcas who is documented in scripture in Acts 9. "Dorcus," they explain, "teacheth wives how to get this array, for she made garments to cloath the naked and the poor" (F4r). Their emphasis is on how providing textiles displays a woman's compassionate nature, and this sentiment is repeated as they draw on the woman outlined in Proverbs 31. This passage of scripture was, and is, renowned for its portrayal of a woman who displays wisdom in all her everyday tasks and concerns, but one of her tasks was foregrounded in the early modern period – her attention to textiles. Dod and Cleaver write of women that they "therefore must labour, if not to sell cloth, as *Salomon's* woman did, nor to cloath the poore, as *Dorcas* did; yet to cloath her family, that they may not care for the cold" (1614: F4r).[113] The two clergymen's exegesis of the Proverbs passage chooses to deviate from the woman's economic ingenuity as a seller of cloth. Instead, they situate her relationship with textiles firmly within the domestic environment, locating women's textile production as in and for the household. To prevent the cold is a direct reference to the Proverbs woman, who "feareth not the snow for her family: for all her family is clothed with

[112] Similarly, Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606) stages a distaff and spindle, props carried on by pages that accompany a female masquer (Frye 114).

[113] The Proverbs 31 woman was so familiar to early modern society that other writers did not have to specifically mention her. Bartholomew Batty in his *Christian Man's Closet* (1581), stipulates in point 9 to "Let her provide and get such clothes wherewith the cold may be defended, not wherewith her body shall be nakedly apparelled" (182), simultaneously drawing on the Proverbs passage, and Adam and Eve, as recorded in Genesis.

scarlet".[114] The Proverbs 31 woman was regarded as an individual for women in early modern England to emulate, as in Elizabeth Isham's Book of Remembrance she writes of her father "desireing" her mother to "remember the good woman in the 31 Chap of proverbs" (13v).

While women's engagement with the cloth industry and the moral necessity placed on women to involve themselves with needlework has been widely documented, how this gendered activity has inflected women's relationship with the qualities of textiles has not been given the same attention – and particularly, the chromatic quality of such fabrics. That women were encouraged to emulate Proverbs 31 had, for example, significant repercussions for the colouration of their clothing, and the clothing they created or purchased for, or bequeathed to, others. The Proverbs 31 woman's family was, as stated, "clothed with scarlet," and there is evidence that women took this example seriously as ownership of red clothing is common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Susan E. James has observed from Tudor wills that red clothing was a "'must have'" for women from Elizabeth I to her poorest subjects (266-67). Indeed, red clothing continued in popularity, as evidenced in the life of Mary Rich, the Countess of Warwick. Rich was gifted coloured fabric from her father, "'soe much red satten as was provided for the satten bed, and not used, as will make her a waste-coat,'" and in response, Mary presented him with "night caps, six laced handkerchiefs, "'garters and roses,'" which were most likely the result of her own needlework (C. Smith 47).[115] Likewise, Elizabeth

[114] Proverbs 31:21.

[115] There are other instances recorded where fathers actively sought to encourage the sewing activity of their daughters. Because of her husband's mismanagement of money, Elizabeth Freke's father, Raphe Freke of Hannington, gifted his daughter with £200, ordering her to conceal it from her husband, and to "'buy needles and pins with it'" (qtd. in Otten 17). That men took it upon themselves to enable needlework is perhaps a direct response to such manuals as Bartholomew Batty's *Christian man's closet* (1581). Although addressed to men, it

Isham records in her diary in 1632, "I began to worke my red gown". While James suggests that this emphasis on red clothing was due to a contemporary belief in red's prophylactic capabilities, it is just as likely that women wanted to be seen to parallel the Proverbs 31 woman through the red colouring of the clothes they bequeathed to, or provided for, their families (267).[116]

The red of the Proverbs 31 example resonated so strongly with women because, just as there was a moral imperative placed on women to sew, the colouring activity of sewing was also figured as biblically founded. An example of this is found in John Taylor's needlework pattern book, *The Needles Excellency* (1631), which treats colour as a product of female industry that is instigated by God. Prefatory to the needle patterns contained in Taylor's guide, he presents a poem, "The Praise of the Needle," which maintains in the opening lines that the needle's role is to add colour: "As a stout Captaine, brauely he leades on / (Not fearing colours) till the work be done" (Av). Having established the connection between needlework and colour, Taylor asserts that without women's needlework, "We should without our Bibbs and Biggings be; / No shirts or smockes, our nakednesse to hide, / No garments gay, to make us magnifyde" (A2r). In these few lines, Taylor positions women as responsible for clothing bodies – emphasising the context of humankind's fallen state, at the conception of which nakedness was covered – but also for colouring garments through their embroidery.[117] Taylor states that the needle provides "garments gay," an alliterative expression that, as the succeeding lines of the

gives direct instructions for how women should behave within the household, such as point 7: "Let her learn to card and spin and to make woollen cloth: and to handle the wheel and distaff to make her linen cloth." (182).

[116] Edward II, for example, is believed to have decorated an entire room in red to prevent scarlet fever (Jarman 39).

[117] See Genesis 3:7-11, 21.

poem accentuate, draws on the meaning of "gay" as distinctly colourful.[118] Indeed, Taylor construes women's embroidery as a biblical imperative, as an artistic heritage that originated with the children of Israel:

> With work like cherubims, embroidered rare,
>
> The Covers of the Tabernacle were.
>
> And by th'Almighties great command, wee see,
>
> That *Aarons* Garments broydered worke should be;
>
> And further, God did bid his Vestments should
>
> Be made most gay, and glorious to behold.
>
> This plainely, and most truely is declar'd
>
> The Needles workes hath still bin in regard. (A2v-A3r)

In these lines, embroidery is mentioned explicitly in connection with the Tabernacle and Aaron's garments, and this association is significant for understanding Taylor's conception of needlework. In Exodus 26:1, God commands: "Afterward thou shalt make the Tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen and blue silk, and purple, and scarlet: and in them thou shalt make Cherubims of broidered work". Moreover, in Exodus 28:6, God instructs Aaron's ephod – his priestly garments – to be made "of gold, blue silk, and purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen of broidered work". As Taylor explains that Aaron's priestly garments were "broydered," and "made most gay," it is patent that his previous assertion of "garments gay" indicated colourful clothing. Taylor's biblical references highlight that he connects women's embroidery with colouring, and chromatically altering or embellishing cloth as a continuation of the

[118] "gay, adj., adv., and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2017. Web. 18 April 2017. def. 1.a.

chromatic guidance ordained by God for the Tabernacle and for the High Priest's clothing. Once again, colouring with the needle is presented as deriving from religious foundations, and by extension, as a religious imperative for women in early modern society as this needlework is "still . . . in regard".

There is, however, a significant difference between God's instructions for the Tabernacle and the multitude of pattern books, like Taylor's, which encouraged women's needlework activity: the colours of the Tabernacle threads are predetermined, whereas pattern books only provided examples of embroidery patterns for women to follow.[119] Women could choose the colours, for these books do not provide chromatic guidance, only black and white outlines.[120] Even in a late seventeenth-century household manual, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (1686), Hannah Woolley's instructions for embroidery similarly lack chromatic constraints:

> Get your pattern drawn, and then form it about with what you like best, black Gimp or other, and fill up the under parts and leaves with saxen-stitch, some light and some darker, and let the upper parts and Seeds of Flowers be done with high work, as Purple stitch or others, and let the stalks be all alike with a great Gimp twisted, you may make your Flowers of what you fancy you please in shadows, and being well shadowed they will appear very Natural. (195)

The desired effect is made clear – to create a "Natural" image, with "shadows" of colour – however, despite its importance, colour is not a determined feature. While Woolley suggests

[119] According to Liz Arthur, in England "between the 1620s and the end of the century more than 150 books of needlework patterns were published" (qtd. in Frye 128).

[120] Brooks reiterates the limits of these pattern manuals, writing that the "craft of embroidery was shared primarily by mothers and governesses, rather than pattern books, which provide very scant instruction" (13).

purple stitches, this is supplemented by the suggestion of alternative colours ("or others") as women are encouraged to follow their "fancy," their imagination.[121] The actual process of approaching needlework – as revealed by Woolley's guidance, and by the anonymous sampler poem – involved a careful consideration of colour.

In early modern England, an integral aspect of textile creation was the visual impact of its colours. An illustration of this is provided by the Bradford Table Carpet (*c.*1600-15), on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is divided into two sections, each comprising an inner rectangle framed with a border, and each section is uniquely patterned. Significantly, the tablecloth has been designed so that the outer border – the more colourful pattern of the two – would fall around the edges of the table to maximise its visibility (see Fig. 3). This emphasis on a textile's colouration is also highlighted in Rebecca Olson's account of viewing tapestries at Hampton Court Palace:

> Then the chamber went dark, and the arras was gloriously, breathtakingly illuminated: researchers had matched one light for each color, so that when projected onto the tapestry, it was as saturated and vivid as the day it was made . . . unexpectedly Technicolor primary colors and blinding gold. . . . (152)

By the careful projection of light, Olson was treated to a simulated recolouration that revealed how visually arresting and impacting these tapestries were precisely because of the colouration used to illuminate the narrative on display. While both these examples relate to textiles produced outside the home, women were just as attuned to the visual impact of colour in their domestic needlework, recognising that its chromaticity impacted on how it would be received.

[121] "fancy, n. and adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 3 February 2018. Def. 3, 4a.

Fig. 3. The Bedford Table Carpet. *c.*1600-25. Victoria and Albert Museum. Museum No: T.134-1928. Photograph. 25 Mar. 2017.

Xanthe Brooke explains it thus: "Just as important in creating pictorial needleworks, was an eye for colour combinations and an ability to choose and place silks in groups which shade gently from one colour to the next, and so create effects that still delight" (10). What Brooke highlights is how the image was not always the most important factor; instead, the amateur embroiderer could reveal her skill, and appeal to the eye, by how she both combined and blended her coloured threads.[122] How this blending of colours appears in practice is

[122] Rozsika Parker highlights the intricacy of this skill: "The long band samplers were usually stitched in progressively harder exercises. The first bands would be devoted to coloured border patterns – stylised flowers and alphabets in silks. Often the colour would disappear in bands of whitework embroidery – exquisite cut work, drawn work and fine needlepoint lace" (85).

witnessed from a Bible binding held at the Folger Library (see Fig. 4). This embroidered piece, which displays biblical scenes, exposes the careful attention given to the application of each coloured thread. Its creator has used colours that attempt to convey verisimilitude, as threads have been used to convey texture, and the maker has drawn on blues for the clouds, and greens and yellows for the foliage on display. Moreover, the woman who created this piece has also shown her skill in creating those colour gradations outlined by Hannah Woolley, as her thread colours create chiaroscuro effects of "some light and some darker," of having been carefully "shadowed". Colour gradations are also a feature of biblical embroidery donated to Oxford University by an aristocratic woman. A collection of University poems entitled *Parnassus Biceps* (1656), includes "Upon the Lady *Paulets* Gift to the University of *Oxford*: Being an exact piece of Needle-work presenting the whole story of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour". The Lady's needlework presents "Colours . . . mix'd so subtily, that thereby /The strength of art doth take and cheat the eye" and "At once a thousand [colours] we can gaze upon, /But are deceiv'd by their transition" (A. Wright 146). Women's use of colour in their embroidery, therefore, is often akin to the painter's use of colour in his or her artwork in how it attempts to engage the viewer's eye: both embroidering and painting require the creator's sustained attention to colour to create an object that is aesthetically pleasing to the viewer.

An attention to chromaticity was also necessitated by the affluence of the woman doing the needlework. Which colours would best suit the subject matter would succumb to which colours women could afford, with the cost of thread being a significant material consideration that informed women's needlework. Not all colours were accessible to all women. Green and red threads could be bought relatively cheaply, whereas coloured silks in bright, eye-catching colours were the appurtenance of the elite, as were metal threads and those materials that provided additional colour to the work, such as "sequins, pearls, semi-precious stones, and

colourful glass beads" (Frye 132; Brooks 1-2).[123] To add colour was to increase the costliness of the product (Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster 24), but as a result, those colours applied reflected the status of its maker and signalled her family's wealth and social station to viewers.[124] For wealthy women, therefore, to view their created textiles was to both delight in their colours, and to be reminded of their household's wealth, with coloured threads providing a visual narrative both of their investment of time and energy, and the family's financial situation.

Fig. 4. Bible. O.T. Psalms. English. Sternhold & Hopkins**.** 1639. Luna: Folger Digital Image Collection. STC: 2689 copy 1.

[123] For the expense of silk in early modern Europe, see Rothstein 528-30.

[124] For textiles as markers of status, see Frye 126-27; Jenkins 1, 3.

These factors of aesthetic and financial value imply that women were consciousness of colour as they chose their threads, but there is evidence that women were mindful of colouring as they produced, and reflected on, needlework. For Mary, Queen of Scots, it was gazing on the rainbow-range of colours available to her that provided a source of inspiration and the driving force for completion. As Nicholas White recounts: "She said that all day long she wrought with the needle and that the diversity of the colours made the work seem less tedious, and continued till very pain did make her give over" (qtd. in R. Parker 78-79). Elizabeth Isham also records in her 1632 diary entry, "I wrot patterns in coullers in my sampler," highlighting that women were chromatically absorbed as they performed needlework, and, as Isham's diary account reveals, that they were just as chromatically attentive as they reflected on the activity of stitching. Moreover, needlework is culturally acknowledged as an activity requiring a thoughtful attention to colour. In *The Wit of A Woman*, the schoolmistress, Balia, requests to see Merilla's cushion work and is unimpressed with its chromatic styling: "heere is a great fault," she exclaims, "in trueth your colours are not well mingled". Merilla's response reiterates the understanding that to perform needlework is to consider colour, as she explains that her colours were determined by pragmatism: "I had not enough of the white, and therefore I was forced to take of the Carnation, as neere as I could" (A3v). As this example highlights colour awareness, it also provides another rationale for why women were so engaged with colour. Just as their embroidery was determined by colour preference and the financial accessibility of coloured threads, their cognizance of colour was also emphasised as they ran out of the colours they needed as they performed their needlework.

Yet, as women were aware of colour while performing their needlework, and recalling their needlecraft activity, they were equally attuned to textile colours in their everyday household activities. As women viewd colourful textiles, they did so with a similar aesthetic appreciation from their perspective as creators, as makers, but they would also view such

colourful items as preservers and restorers, roles not afforded to their male counterparts. In her study, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies* (2002), Natasha Korda investigates the gendered relationship between people and their possessions and emphasises the fashioning of early modern women into gazing and recording subjects, expected to act as primary supervisors of the household. This supervisory role was emphasised in contemporary sources, with Henry Smith's *Preparative to Marriage* (1591) arguing that the woman is identified as "housewife" to "shew that a good wife keepes her house" (79). While the nomination attributed to women was functionalised, housekeeping was also actively framed both as a godly endeavour and as evidence of a woman's fidelity to her husband.[125] As Korda has highlighted, housekeeping tasks were of a "specifically *visual* dimension" and were understood as such in early modern household manuals (*Shakespeare's* 77). This keeping of house is specifically defined in Robert Dod's and John Cleaver's 1598 edition of the *Godly Forme of Housholde Gouernment*, which maintains women:

> must lay a diligent eye to her household-stuffe in every Roome, that nothing be embezeled away, nothing spoyled or lost for want of looking to, nothing mard by ill usage, nor nothing worne out by using more then is needful. (93)

Dod and Cleaver promulgate through an imperative construction that as housewife it is the woman's responsibility to know what possessions are in the house, where all these items are kept, and their condition at any given time, so that she could attend to them, as required, for repairs. The repetition of the negation, "nothing" is rhetorically suggestive of the level of care required for the task of supervising the household, where 'nothing' is to go unnoticed, and thereby every possession is to be considered and accounted for. Dod and Cleaver's text is only a fragment of the large collection of household manuals and literature that entreat the same

[125] See the 1614 edition of Dod and Cleaver F4r and Pr, a text so popular it merited nine editions (Aughterson 79).

attuned visual awareness of women in the home, and their sum had the effect of crafting, as Korda outlines, "a powerful and affective bond between women and material objects" (*Shakespeare's* 29).[126] This bond would include their colouration.

Indeed, Dod and Cleaver's insistence on household maintenance and perceiving what is "worne" invites conjecture on how women were especially aware of the materiality of the coloured cloth in their homes, whether created at their hands, or owned by their household. Giles Fletcher refers to "threads so fresh, and lively colored" in *Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heaven,* ("Christs Victorie in Heaven" 16), published in 1610, Robert Herrick depicts Aurora as throwing "Fresh-quilted colours" (4) in "Corinna's *going a-Maying*" (67), and Margaret Cavendish remarks that she chose "silke with *fresh colours*" (A3r). As each description draws on the term "fresh" to describe the colouration of textiles, they illuminate that fabric and individual threads were dyed with fugitive colours, which although bright at first would become faded with time. Women would have noticed such changes of colouration, especially because women were being culturally trained to engage with colour. As scholarship has attended to the reading practices of women, it has exposed that women's reading material consisted of – in addition to the bible and devotional texts – recipes and medicinal advice, specifically promoted towards and among women to aid their domestic activity and to equip

[126] Similar sentiments are to be found in Thomas Tusser's exceedingly popular, *A Hundred Good Points of Housewifery (*1570), which had twenty editions by 1672, transitioning from its hundred points to five-hundred points (Wall, "Literacy" 388). Of note are points 86 and 87, which respectively detail, "Though making and mending be housewifely ways, yet mending in time is the housewife to praise" and "Though ladies may rend and buy new everyday, good housewives must mend and buy new as they may" (fos 34r). Moreover, Patrick Hannay's *A Happy Husband* (1619) contains a poem called "A Wife's Behaviour," which instructs women to, "Care thou at home, and let him care at large. / Thou hast enough thyself for to employ / Within doors, 'bout thy house and housewifery" (C3v).

them with the knowledge to care for their families.[127] Lady Grace Milday, for example, records that she was encouraged to read William Turner's *Herbal* (1551) by her governess (Lamb, "Shall We" 90); while Lady Anne Clifford's reading practices are depicted in her family triptych, where books including John Gerard's *Herbal* (1597), are recorded in paint for posterity (Graham et al 36).[128] But an important observation is to be drawn from these books and manuscripts, namely that so much of what early modern women read is connected to colour.

These texts confront women with the need to consider and to recognise colours, and to respond to and attend to colours, whether presented as symptoms or antidotes in medicinal writings, as classificatory in herbals, or as ingredients or outcomes in recipes. William Turner's *Herbal* (1568) invites its readers to identify the difference between wild and tame anemone plants by their colouration, "one that hath a Cremesin floure and an other a whitishe or of the coloure of milke or purple" (42).[129] There is evidence that this training in noticing and reacting to colour was fruitful in the lives of early modern women. In her diary accounts, Elizabeth Isham records reading of "the vertue of hearbs" in 1633, suggesting that she too was being trained to treat illness within the household, and indeed, she is attuned to the visible chromatic changes of her body, for in 1636, she observes a "rednes" on her hand and notes its

[127] See, for example, Snook; Hackel and Kelly; Anderson and Sauer; and Molekamp, *Women*.

[128] Other books contained in Clifford's Great Picture include the Bible, atlases, Sidney's *Arcadia*, Spenser's *Works*, Chaucer's *Works*, and Montaigne's *Essays*.

[129] See also, for example, John Gerard's *Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1633), 8-9; both Gerard and Turner's herbals are saturated with colour descriptions.

duration of two hours.[130] As surveyors of the household's goods, and as a sex whose culturally trained observational proficiency included using colours as indicators of ill-health, it is probable that women would have noticed the increasing demise of their textiles' colouration, even perhaps responding to such changes by replacing stitches with freshly coloured threads.

The impact of this attentiveness to colour, an "affective bond" between women and their textiles, is observable in extant life writings, such as the will of the widow, Dame Mary Judd, which includes: "2 long pillows for windows, one of printed velvet, the other of yellow satin embroidered"; "my white rug, my blue mantle"; "a covering for a bed paned with velvet and satin crimson" (Emmison 23); "a tawney Irish mantle, a red rug"; and "a quilt of yellow and blue sarcenet" (Emmison 24).[131] A similar attendance to colouration is palpable in the 1601 inventory of Bess of Hardwick's bedchamber, which presents "a little needlework quition with my Ladies Armes in it lined with red Velvet, my Ladies books viz: Calvin upon Jobe, Covered with russet velvet . . . too other books Covered with black velvet" (Levey and Thornton 53-54). While colour in these examples could be revealing of women's connectedness to the objects described – with colour used primarily as a means of identifying the object – colour and object are divisible entities. They are not easily separated, however, as Stephen Melville describes, colour can be viewed as distinct: "color," he explains, is capable of "attaching itself absolutely to its own specificity" and to "the surfaces on which it has or finds its visibility" (45). In either case, whether isolated or treated as a quality of the object, these examples reveal an affective bond between these women and colour. Colour is not taken for granted by either

[130] Similarly, in her *Report and Plea* (1654), Anna Trapnel recorded how one women "saw by my high color, that I was not well" (qtd. in Otten 68-69). A further example is found in Alice Thornton's *Book of Remembrances* (152).

[131] My definition of *life writing* is informed by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson. They describe "*life writing* as a general term for writing that takes a life, one's own or another's, as its subject" (4).

of these women, and it is arguable that colour is significant because it is included, and because it is included with a specificity that intimates familiarity and care. Although incorporating colour in wills was often a simple means of ensuring ready identification of objects, wills were expressions of individual identity (Orlin 300, 307). The presence of colour in Judd's will, therefore, is indicative of her desire to be affiliated with a polychromatic palette. Bess of Hardwick's inventory also presents a woman connecting colour with personal identity, as she afforded each of her books its own covering of unique colouration, providing them with a separate character.[132] Dame Mary Judd's emotional connection with colour is indicated by the specificity of colour in her will, which highlights her attentiveness to her colourful surroundings and concern for chromatic details to be recorded. Similarly, Bess of Hardwick's use of chromatics to differentiate her books suggests her investment in, and predilection for, colour.

What these examples reveal is women's connectedness to the chromatic attributes of the fabrics in their domestic environment and this attendance to the colour of fabric was because of her surveillance role, for women were actively engaged in both the care and the creation of a textile's aesthetic, as they viewed and added colour to fabrics. Colour was, therefore, interwoven with a woman's identity, and a feminine identification with colour, as cemented by textiles, was only furthered by how those women who were literate approached another of their creative activities – that of writing.

[132] This bond between women and the colour of their fabrics was frequently dramatized. For example, William Shakespeare's Cleopatra is seated under cloth of gold on her barge (2.2.204-05) while Sibil, a maid in Thomas Dekker's play, *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, recalls the colouration of her household's domestic furnishings: "one of our yellow silke curtains, at home here in Old-ford house" (32-33).

The Embroidered Word

Early modern women's reading and writing practices are revealing of the intellectual and material connections they made between needlework, reading, writing, and colour, and the spaces in which they performed these activities. While early modern women were culturally prescribed to be attentive to the condition of textiles, and to the creation and embroidery of garments, it is crucial to be conscious of how women's engagement with words also contributed to their attachment to colour. Susan Frye, Wendy Wall, and Bianca Calabresi have argued for the cognitive and metaphorical connections between writing and other forms of domestic practice with their respective analyses of needlework activity and culinary procedures.[133] Colour is a uniting factor in these domestic activities, as women coloured the home, removed colour from fabrics, produced colourful food, or, as will be revealed, coloured the page. Brush, pen, and needle were considered interrelated instruments in the early modern period (Frye 9), but they were also interrelated because of their use of colour. How women conceived of this chromatic connection is observable in a sonnet made to mark the death of Queen Elizabeth I. Compiled by a "Maid of Honour," this sonnet is captioned with the revealing context: "which she sewed upon a Sampler, in Red silke" (Stevenson and Davidson 154). By using cloth as a surface for script, the writer apprehends paper and cloth as complementary materialities; complementary because the author understands writing and sewing as activities that both involve chromatic choice and a colourful base.

While both men and women were provided with recipes to colour their quills, pages, and ink, allowing them to use colour as a matter of personal expression, it is important to

[133] See Frye, and Wall, "Literacy". Calabresi has written that in this period, "inscribing letters with a needle could be seen as analogous to, or indeed continuous with, inscribing letters with a pen" (94). For metaphorical and structural connections between writing and textile production, see Elk 95, Trettien 506, and Olson.

recognise colour script as a continuation of the female writing tradition, rather than as a novel feature. In the early modern period, girls' first encounter with letters and words was often from textiles. Young girls were taught how to read and write from abecedarian lettering on samplers (Lamb, "Shall We" 83), objects that would have involved the meticulous placement and shaping of colourful threads. While there is some scholarly debate as to the order of learning the skills of sewing, writing, and reading, these were certainly orthographic activities that overlapped and intertwined, especially when one considers those figures that tutored young girls in these practices.[134] Francis Clement's *Petie Schole* (1587) advises children to turn to people of industry to gain literacy skills, including seamstresses, who "hath lore as much to reade, / As erst she had in many yeares / compast by silke and threede" (9), and certainly, this was contemporary practice, as a court record from 1615 details the professional activity of Elizabeth Ellell, who is described as a "sempster" who "teaches young children to read and work with their needles" (Crawford and Gowing 78). Moreover, embroidery handbooks from across the continent often provided guides on sewing letters and phrases, suggesting that needlework was considered a means of procuring literacy in the period (Calabresi 97-8), and that sewn letters were considered a viable mode of writing, or "visual textualties" as termed by Susan Fyre (xv).[135]

[134] Whereas Wolfe maintains that young girls, particularly of a higher social status, were taught to sew and embroider often before learning to write (23), Calabresi has since challenged this privileging of needlework over more traditional forms of literacy. Her reflections on the representation of female learning in early modern drama suggest that girls were taught to sew, read, and write concurrently, and as a result, Calabresi upholds needlework as a "continuum of reading and writing practices" (94, 80-81).

[135] See Calabresi 99, Jones and Stallybrass 142 for how stitching was considered a textuality in this period; and for the conflation of the needle and pen, see Jones and Stallybrass 145-71.

This process of learning writing skills via needlework techniques had a profound impact on the chromatic character of women's literacy, and this is readily perceived in the surviving material traces of the life of Lady Anne Clifford, the Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery. Although Clifford is renowned for her remarkable endurance as she struggled to receive her inheritance, recent scholarship focusing on her life has considered in detail Clifford's domestic pursuits, including her needlework and her writing activity.[136] Although these pursuits are often explored through Clifford's diaries, a remnant of the effect of her gendered education survives in a letter she penned when she was eight years old to her father, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland (See Fig. 5). This letter provides evidence of her adeptness at writing as it presents beautifully penned script, but it is also revealing of Clifford's understanding of colour. In terms of the physical composition of the page, the border of Clifford's letter is abloom, pre-decorated with a floral pattern.[137] What is significant is that Clifford has chosen to colour this floral border. George C. Williamson remarks that "Clifford filled in the colours herself from her own paintbox" (xxi)' and considering the quantity of limning treatises in the period, as chapter one revealed, and Clifford's elite social standing which allowed for leisurely pursuits, it is likely that Clifford practised watercolour painting. Indeed, Clifford's adroitness at colouring with paints is evident, as she creates symmetry with her repeated red symbols in each of the page's four corners and paints the flowers in realistic hues. But more importantly, her typographical styling and addition of colour directly emulate the script and floral designs found on extant samplers from the period. Even though her writing inclines slightly, it is regimented like needleworked letters on a sampler. Moreover, her colouring of the border detail reveals an individual attentive to shading colours, creating the impression of shadows and highlights; chiaroscuro effects that were employed in women's

[136] For Clifford's battle for her inheritance, see Salzman 90, 94, 99.

[137] Pre-decorated pages like Clifford's were readily available in early modern England (Daybell 101).

needlework more generally in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By closely emulating the textile tradition, Anne Clifford reveals her early comprehension of a visual commonality between the page and needleworked fabric, with colour crucial in this perceptual correlation.

Fig. 5. Lady Anne Clifford. Dated 31st January 1598. Web. 28 Mar. 2018. <http://www.skiptoncastle.co.uk/uploads/lady-anne-letter.jpg.>

The interconnectedness of colour, textiles, and writing was fashioned by the process of learning as girls were taught to engage with words through the perspective of needlework. However, this was a connection that continued beyond childhood learning as women sewed fabric and sewed pages with colourful threads. In the household accounts of Lady Shuttleworth is listed "coventrie blue thred to make letters for needlework on the bed sheets" (qtd. in R. Parker 85), a payment that implies how women used coloured threads for writing throughout their lives. Certainly, Jones and Stallybrass highlight that women monogrammed items as diverse as bedlinen – like Lady Shuttleworth – and shirts (135). As the examples of Lady Shuttleworth and Lady Anne Clifford demonstrate, women performed their literacy through the application of coloured threads, or by modelling their writing activity on the colourful needlework format, but women's understanding of colour was as predicated on how they consumed literature as how they practised their literacy.

Just as books were structurally bound by thread, there is evidence of threads being used as a material strategy for structuring the reading process. While hand-drawn and printed manicules are frequently found in early modern books, also present are threaded manicules, sewn into pages by real historical readers who wanted to mark pages for ease of access at a later stage, or to provide other readers with guides on how to physically move through a book (J. Knight 525, 523). The same process of looping coloured threads onto fingers to make button loops, purse strings, and girdles, was simultaneously used to create bookmarkers (Sibthorpe 234), and if a page was ripped, impinging on the reading process, threads were also employed – in a similar way to domestic furnishings – as a means of reparation. A ripped page in a book was sometimes sewn back into place (Fleming, "Afterward" 546), perhaps prompted by the physical character of a book, with its pages constituted from old "rags and linens," directly

connecting it to cloth (J. Knight 532-33).[138] It therefore follows that early modern books were made more colourful as threads of varying colours highlighted sections and pieced together vulnerable pages, whilst women who read these books were confronted with a colourful experience that went beyond the chromatic descriptions in black and white print. This paratextual activity not only reveals reader participation but highlights how women appropriated methods from their needlecraft and applied it to books and pages. Women coloured their books as they consumed them – not just with paint or coloured ink, but with threads.

Just as these examples illuminate that in practice women made connections between colourful needlework and writing, there is reason to suggest that they were also conscious of these connections. In Margaret Cavendish's *Poems and Fancies* (1653), she enthusiastically presents this association in her dedicatory address "To All Noble, and Worthy Ladies":

> Besides, *Poetry*, which is built upon *Fancy*, Women may claime, as a *worke* belonging most properly to themselves: for I have observ'd, that their *Braines* work usually in a *Fantasticall motion;* as in their *severall*, and various *dresses*, in their many and singular choices of *Cloaths*, and *Ribbons*, and the like; in their *curious shadowing*, and *mixing of Colours*, in their *Wrought works*, and divers sorts of *Stitches* they imploy their *Needle*, and many *Curious* things they make . . . and thus their *Thoughts* are imployed perpetually with *Fancies*. For *Fancy* goeth not so much by *Rule*, & *Method*, as by *Choice*: and if I have chosen my silke with *fresh colours*, and matcht them in *good shadows*, although the stitches be not very true, yet it will please the *Eye*. . . . (A3r)

[138] For more information on the physical quality of books, see Calhoun; and for a visual example of a page repaired with threading, see J. Knight 532-33.

Echoing the sentiments of George Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* (1589), Cavendish forges connections between writing and colouring as she presents the imagination, or "*Fancy,*" as the foundation both of writing poetry *and* colouring. According to Cavendish, women are more adept at writing poetry because their imagination is perfected to a greater degree than men's, and this improvement of the imaginative faculty is owed to several factors. Cavendish states that women's "*Fancy*" is honed by their continual choice of fabric, of items such as ribbons and clothing; by how they apply fabric, in the form of stitching threads; but also, significantly, by their use of colour. Cavendish conflates how she approaches the scripting of poetry with how she approaches her assessment, choice, and application of coloured threads: her "*fresh colours*" are "matcht" as she uses "*curious shadowing*" and "*mixing of Colours*," procedures used by women in their embroidery activity. Cavendish uses colour to illustrate that women have a developed aesthetic intelligence that enables their poetic flair. However, in their poetry, women see colour as more than evidence of their writing ability. Early modern women were taking the connection between writing and needlework beyond the aesthetics of their shared attribute of colour. Armed with their imagination and their proficiency for colouring, women treated colour as their own particular means of communication, incorporating into their fictional writing their decorative colouring as an expression and a promotion of their feminine, and personal, identity.

Stitching Colour into Narratives

In early modern England, women's sustained attention to adding coloured threads to fabrics would have direct repercussions for how they approached their literary creations, with coloured textiles taking prominence in the literature of some of the most notable women writers of the period. In Isabella Whitney's "The Lamentation of a Gentlewoman Upon the Death of her Late Deceased Friend, William Gruffith, Gentleman" (1578), the poet-speaker dwells on the colour

of clothing as a means of negotiating and expressing both her personal identity and her emotional experience:

> For William White, for Gruffith green, I wore,
>
> And red long since did serve to please my mind
>
> Now black I wear, of me not used before;
>
> In lieu of love, alas, this love I find.
>
> Now I must leave both white and green and red,
>
> And wail my friend who is but lately dead. (13-18)

The listing of coloured garments immediately concurs the poem's persona with the social identity of a "Gentlewoman," a woman with the financial means to own garments of multiple colours and the income to practise chromatic choice in relation to her clothing. This connection with colour and identity is furthered as the poet-speaker uses colour to affiliate her identity with that of her beloved, using colour in an intentional word play as she puns on his name: William (white), Gruffith (green). While an identification, colour is similarly attached to the gentlewoman's emotional position, as she figures colour as an exterior expression of her affection and the loss of this love simultaneously as the loss of her chromatic choice. While a creative piece, Whitney's figuration of colour as an expression of personal identity, as a matter of choice, and as an emotional conduit, gestures to her own connection with coloured fabrics.

An affinity for colourful fabrics is also exhibited by Mary Sidney Herbert in those Psalms she translated independent of her brother.[139] Herbert was renowned for her skilled

[139] Philip Sidney had translated the first forty-three Psalms before his death (Hiscock 142; Pritchard 8), at which Mary continued and completed his writing project.

needlework (Findlay 27; Jones and Stallybrass 136), and her attention to the art of embroidery in her writing is directly related to her consideration of colour. In Psalm 45, Herbert transforms the gold clothing of the Queen from not only "Gold" but to a gold "robe embroidered fine" (52-53), imbuing the psalm with a trace of her domestic craftmanship. In the same fashion, she reimagines the darkness depicted in Psalm 139 as not merely night, but metaphorically as a black female covering: "Do thou best, O secret night, / In sable veil to cover me" (36-37). As Herbert translates the Psalms, her rhetoric exposes her relationship with colour as a material reality of her environment, both as thread and as clothing. This attentiveness to coloured fabrics is not limited to poetic examples, for Mary Wroth's semi-autobiographical romance, *Urania* (1621), is prolific with coloured textiles. Wroth's colours mirror Whitney's connection between coloured clothing and personal identity, as the colours attest to Wroth's own court connections, as she includes colours frequently employed in masque costumes, such as "carnation" (pink, flesh coloured; 73), and "watchet" (a light blue; 84). Her characters are described as "changing their armors and colors the better to be unknown" (84), as a result of which Susan Frye concludes that each clothing colour of Wroth's characters is their "defining characteristic" (207). For Wroth, Herbert, and Whitney, textual colours are a means of exploring feminine and personal identities, but as they colour with words, each of these writers reveals their prior sensuous, emotional, and intellectual connections with colourful textiles.[140]

It is Amelia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (Hail God King of the Jews; 1611) which potently exhibits the connection between women and coloured textiles. Lanyer's *Salve Deus* has received considerable scholarly attention because of its theological feminism: for

[140] For other examples of women writers who draw on coloured fabrics in their writings, see Anne Howard's *The Good Shepherd's Sorrow for the Death of His Beloved Son* (1631; 1-4), and Margaret Cavendish's poem, "Her Descending Down" in *Poems and Fancies* (1653; 155).

how it draws out the feminine characteristics of God and for how it reinterprets familiar portions of Scripture through its presentation of the female perspective.[141] Most frequently, studies that consider the colours in *Salve Deus* have concentrated on Lanyer's attention to, and modification of, the Petrarchan tradition, with its attendant colours of red and white.[142] It has been argued that Lanyer uses the red and white of Christ's blood and body as a point of connection between women and Christ, feminising the man at the heart of salvation, and as a result, actively rewriting how readers value these colours and, by extension, women, lifting them both out of the 'patriarchal oppression' afforded by the blazon tradition (Schoenfeldt 215). However, there is more to this chromatic connection than has been currently explored. Rather than merely connecting women's bodies, as depicted by male writers, to that of Christ, Lanyer undertones the salvific narrative with a recognisably feminine discourse of colour. In *Salve Deus*, Lanyer tints femininity as she shifts the chromatic locus from the woman's body – as subject to the male gaze – to the woman's occupation, as the surveyor, producer, and wearer of cloth; and Lanyer tints femininity as she depicts Christ as likewise engaged in the assessment, creation, and donning of, colourful fabrics in the most-important aspect of Christianity: salvation.

A transition from the woman's body to her practice is signalled by Lanyer in *Salve Deus*, as the poet-narrator is adamant that the "outward beauty which the world commends, /

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[141] I have followed the definition of *Theological Feminism* as outlined by Grenz, Guretzki, and Nordling (51). See McGrath, and Mueller.

[142] *Salve Deus'* use of Petrarchan colours has been translated as offering an "antiblazon" (Wall, *The Imprint* 324-26), as being subsumed into marital discourse (Keohane 375), as rewriting masculine modes of patronage (Lewalski 100), and as a testimony of medieval paintings of the Passion (Molekamp, "Reading" 323). While there are several interpretations, there is agreement that Lanyer's use of red and white is interventionist. See for example, Ng 441-41; Woods, *Lanyer* 61; and Lange 90-105.

Is not the subject I will write upon" (185-86), distancing herself from the prevalent blazon tradition of the red and white of a woman's face:[143]

> Whose date expir'd, the tyrant Time soone ends;
>
> Those gawdie colours soone are spent and gone:
>
> But those fair Virtues which on thee attends
>
> Are always fresh . . . . (187-90)

The red and white of a woman's face are fugitive, prone to fading as emphasised by several expressions directly relating to colour's materiality, including "expir'd," "soone ends," and "spent and gone". But these colours are also deemed inappropriate, or "gawdie". The red and white of the female face, the "pride of Nature" is described as "the thread, that weaves" woman's "web of Care" (203). Instead, Lanyer invites her readers to preoccupy themselves, not with their own bodies – here conceived of as a colourful textile – but with Christ's body and his sacrifice, which Lanyer also presents as colourful fabric. Christ's lips are described as "like skarlet threeds" (1314), a description often used by scholars to show Lanyer's feminising of Christ because it is a portrayal of a woman biblically founded in Song of Solomon 4:3 (Woods, *The Poems* 107), but the scarlet threads also resonate as the medium of women's needlecraft. Moreover, Christ's connection to textile work has previously been indicated in Lanyer's address "To the Ladie *Katherine*," as she writes of "No rose, nor so vermillion halfe so faire" as "that pretious blood that *interlac'd* / His body" (81-83). The term "interlac'd" reveals Lanyer's conception of Christ's flowing blood and broken body as a visual akin to her

[143] All quotations from Lanyer's *Salve Deus* have been taken from Susanne Woods's *Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1993). As the numbering of lines commences afresh with each prefatory poem, the titles of this prefatory material will be signposted. Extracts from the main body of the poem; however, will not be cited with a title.

experience of weaving or viewing woven threads of red and white.[144] In this same address, Lanyer states that at his crucifixion, Jesus was "Writing the Covenant with his pretious blood" (47), understood in this context as red threads, and this description serves to emphasise Christ's employment of textiles as an alternative site of literacy, directly emulating the practices of women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The representation of Jesus' body as a textile is repeated in *Salve Deus* as the poet-speaker relates, "There this most precious body he incloses, / Imbalmd and deckt with Lilies and with Roses" (1279-80), as the term "deckt" meaning "embellished" or "adorned" creates a visual of needlework featuring floral designs of red and white.[145] As well as the configuration of Christ's body as a colourful textile, Christ is also figured as one surveying the material integrity of humankind. Like early modern women who inspected and attended to fabrics in their household, Jesus oversees humanity's deprivation, interpreted as clothing "Spunne by that monster Sinne, and weav'd by Shame" (1127). Unlike humankind, Christ's textile body is depicted as being without fault, creatively configured as a "spotlesse Lambe so voyd of blame" (1653), or in other terms, presenting a woollen surface – a common basis for clothing – without stain. This chromatic disparity between humans and Christ is foregrounded in Lanyer's poem as the theology of justification is reimagined as a chromatic displacement in which Christ responds to humanity's ill-colouration, taking on their sin like a piece of clothing. The poet-narrator explains that "The wealth of Heaven, in our fraile clothing wrought / Salvation by his happy coming hither" (1115-16), and the colouration of these "fraile" garments is revealed as Lanyer explains that Christ, "on his shoulders our blacke sinnes doth beare / To that most

[144] "interlace, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 12 June 2017. def. 1 and 2a.

[145] "decked, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 5 February 2018. Def. 1a.

blessed, yet accursed Crosse" (1121-22). The poet narrator highlights, however, that more than a colour displacement occurs because of Christ's death, as they observe:

> Pure Righteousnesse to take such il exchange;
>
> On all Iniquitie to make a seizure,
>
> Giving his snow-white Weed for ours in change
>
> Our mortall garment in a scarlet Die,
>
> Too base a roabe for Immortalitie. (1108-12)

The "mortall garment" is of "scarlet Die," emphasising that the colour of sin is because of human activity, likened to the act of dyeing cloth. Christ takes part in what is termed here as an "exchange," emphasising that Christ made expiation for sinners not only by taking on their sin – their blackness or redness – but by his kenosis, and his outpouring of blood, he afforded humankind the opportunity to wear the white garments that could only be associated with perfect virtue, atoning them. This imagery is not novel for Lanyer uses the readily-applicable discourse of fabric colouration that is to be found in scripture. In both the Old and the New Testament, the chromatic alteration of cloth is used as an illustration for conveying the internal change brought about by salvation. Isaiah 1:18 and Revelation 7:14, for instance, each depict the colour change from red to white as evidence of Christ's redemptive power, and each time the believer, or collection of believers, are left with white clothing, the visible sign of their salvation.[146] However, Lanyer's treatment of sanctification as chromatic amendment, or the

[146] Revelation 7:14: "And I said unto him, Lord, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their long robes, and have made their long robes white in the blood of the Lamb"; Isaiah 1:18 "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins were as crimson, they shall be made white as snow: though they were red like scarlet, they shall be as wool".

exchange of coloured fabrics is innovative because of how it has been carefully foregrounded, and for how it has been carefully gendered.

While Christ's body is aligned with sewing, Lanyer figures the divine as an active participant in needlework activity, applying freshly-coloured threads to existing textiles. "The Heav'ns," she observes, "shall perish as a garment olde, / Or as a vesture by the maker chang'd" and this simile gestures to the divine's engagement with the art of embroidery (57-58). It is his choosing of colours that aligns Christ most powerfully with women's needlecraft in *Salve Deus*. The poet-narrator contemplates those colours most appropriate to Christ as displaying perfect vertue, considering that "Pure white" would serve "to shew his great Integritie," while "Purple and Scarlet well might him beseeme, / Whose pretious blood must all the world redeeme" (890-91, 895-96). Towards the denouement of *Salve Deus*, Lanyer observes those "colours which our Saviour *chose*; / The purest colours both of White and Red" (1827-28; emphasis added), with "chose" figuring Christ's sacrificial substitution as both a personal and a chromatic choice; a choice that echoed women's chromatic selection as they approached their needlework activity.

By drawing on colourful textiles, Lanyer's imagined women readers could recognise the significance of Christ's sacrifice as their gift and inheritance as a collection of women. Needleworked fabric was often presented as favours to women in court in the higher levels of the social echelon, but gifts of needlework were also significant for the middling and lower-class women in early modern England, often designed to mark momentous occasions, such as a marriage. These could be created by the bride herself, such as the Heraldic Cover presented at the marriage of Elizabeth Bevill and Bernad Grenvill (1592), probably created by Elizabeth herself, and the Lover's Ribbon (1600) embroidered with love symbols, the like of which were given to brides and grooms from their wedding guests (see Fig. 6 and 7). These gifts would then form part of a wider family heritage, able to be bequeathed in wills. It therefore follows

that in Lanyer's presentation of Christ's clothing colours, she enables her readers to view Christ's sacrifice in terms of a spiritual inheritance, analogous to a material heirloom. In her address, "To all virtuous Ladies in generall," Lanyer advises women to "Put on your wedding garments everyone" (8), and to "Let all your roabes be purple scarlet white, / These perfit colours purest Virtue wore" (15-16). The poet-speaker of Salve Deus also prompts women's selection of clothing as they state:

> Loe Madame, heere you take a view of those,
>
> Whose worthy steps you doe desire to tread,
>
> Deckt in those colours which our Saviour chose;
>
> The purest colours both of White and Red. (1825-28)

This section is significant as it both positions Lanyer's readers as potential successors of those women who have gone before them, as well as inheritors of Christ's sacrifice. Theresa DiPasquale has argued that "the women Lanyer addresses are clothed in his garments because they are – both individually and as a group – his bride" (148-49). Significantly, this portion of the poem is glossed with the heading of the "Colours of Confessors and Martirs," actively directing the reader to consider not only clothing, but the colour of these garments as connecting women to Christ. As such, a woman's inheritance hinges on her reception of Christ, figuratively understood as their adoption of his chromatic example – the red and white, not of female beauty, but of Christ's sacrifice.

Fig. 6. Embroidered Heraldic Cover, 1592. Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph. 25 Mar. 2017.

Fig. 7. Lover's Ribbon, *ca.* 1600. Victoria and Albert Museum. Photograph. 25 Mar. 2017.

The prominence of colour in *Salve Deus* presents Lanyer as a writer who had subsumed society's promotion of women engaging in textile colouration. Colour is used in *Salve Deus,* not merely to rewrite the significance of white and red by a conflation of woman's and Christ's physical features. Instead, the feminisation of Christ is more prevalent in Lanyer's attention to the materiality of these colours as qualities of textiles. As she uses colour to engage an extended metaphor of clothing, Lanyer foregrounds women's textile labour, and genders the experience of salvation, effectively personalising the salvation narrative for women, while at the same time positing women as uniquely identified with Christ. It is possible that Lanyer's potential female readership would have seen reflections of their own domestic practice in her presentation of Christ who, like early modern women, chooses colours, surveys and exchanges coloured fabrics, and who uses coloured threads as a form of communication.

Unravelling Colour

Literature penned by women, and the discourse on needlework activity that circulated in early modern England, are both reflective of the cultural connection that was fashioned between the act of colouring and women's textile production. Cultural discourse necessitated women's interaction with needlework, framing this activity as a pragmatic and religious imperative, and textual sources reveal that women responded to English society's expectations. Women's contribution to the domestic colourscape, and the supervisory role they played within it, impressed upon them the material memory of textile colours as they chose coloured fabric, supplied colourful garments or textiles, and mended those textile articles that required attention. This attentiveness to textile colours was significantly furthered by how women were trained to exercise their literacy, as they familiarised themselves with letters using various colours of thread. Since needlework was a ubiquitous reality for women, their understanding of colour is underlined by the habitual practice of their craft. As a result of these associations, women connected with colour and responded to colour in their writings in their own uniquely-

gendered way; in a way that had its foundations in the domestic context, and in a way that was shaped by their means of procuring and practising literacy skills.

Women's literature vividly displays their material memories and connections with colour. That women were trained to use, view, and respond to colour is evident in how they approached making their wills or presenting their letters, but it is especially true as women write colour that they reveal something of their daily experience of seeing and handling colourful materials. How women "think" colour is intimately related to how they use and view colour in their homes, for as women write colour, it is figuratively connected to their needlework activity or the chromatic quality of domestic textiles. Although culture instigated women's engagement in colouring, for women, colour was an opportunity for personal expression. Colour was one of the ways in which women exerted the agency of choice, colour was a means of displaying their artistic ingenuity and social status, and colour was a means by which they practised and presented their literacy skills – all which understandings were predicated on their use and application of coloured threads. Certainly, in English society, textile colours are presented as a means via which women depict their experience. In Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy* (*c*.1611) Aspatia bewails how the colours Antiphila stitches into her needlework of Ariadne do not sufficiently capture her emotional state: "These colours are not dull and pale enough, / To show a soule so full of miserie / As this sad Ladies was" (2.2.61-63). Women's use of textile colours as a means of personal expression translated to how they wrote.

For women, colour was part of their habituated thought, and their writing reveals that they made a connection between their identity as women and their prerogative to present this identity using colour. The sampler poem explicitly related material and textual colouring to the projection of a woman's experience, and the use of colour as a means of presenting emotional and intellectual experience that is evident in the sampler poem bears direct correlation to how

women writers, like Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney Herbert, Mary Wroth, and Aemilia Lanyer, invest their narratives with coloured fabrics that register and express their gendered and personal identity. In early modern England, colour informed both women's material and textual production, and offered women a means of articulating their experience, whether colour was seen on the surface of fabric or read off the page.

While women including Whitney, Herbert, Wroth, and Lanyer drew on their material memories of colour as they wrote, recollections of applied colour could have serious implications in other environments in early modern England. Indeed, material connections with and recollections of colour, as the succeeding chapter will investigate, were problematic in the context of religious identity. While in this chapter, colour in English society was intricately connected with religious cultures – as needlework was construed as a religious imperative by Protestant writers, especially ministers, and Lanyer expressed women's religious identity using colour – colouring was an increasingly problematic activity in the colourscape of the Reformed Church.

Chapter Three: The Tincture(s) of Reformed Religious Experience

In his study *Renaissance Secrets: Recipes and Formulas* (2009), Jo Wheeler explains that countless recipes for colours have been found in monastery collections (49), a recovery that intimates a long-standing relationship between colour and the Church. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Reformed Church in England was struggling to situate colour. In a culture of colouring, there was an ongoing debate regarding which colours should be used within the Church, and where these colours should be applied. This problem is pronounced in the anonymous poem, *The Arraignment of Superstition Or, A Discourse Betweene a Protestant, a Glasier, and a Separatist* (1642). As its title suggests, the poem is jurisdictional, allowing these three individuals the opportunity to defend their position and to disparage the viewpoints of their disputants. The dialogue commences as the Separatist seeks the assistance of the Glazier to remove the church windows (1), a request that offsets debate regarding the place of stained-glass windows in the Reformed Church. For the Glazier, the individual representing the creators of the stained glass and its colours, the windows are historically valuable (1); for the Protestant, they convey appropriate splendour to the place of worship, as they "a dorne and beautifie this Church" in a "seemley way" (5, 1-2); whereas, for the Separatist, the colourful windows are pragmatically and theologically unwelcome for three main reasons. Firstly, the colours are reminiscent of the aesthetic of the Catholic church: "'Tis like a popish tabernacle painted" (1); secondly, the Separatist argues that the colours radiated by the windows interfere with the reading of Scripture:

> What should they else, they doe but barre the light
>
> The Lord hath sent, and trouble much our sight
>
> That scarce at noone day we can see to read
>
> The holy Bible for the paint and lead . . . (1)

And finally, an expression of pleasure at the sight of the coloured windows is perceived as an expression of idolatry: "I think you some of Romes impestuous store, / Who loves the paynted Glasse loves Idoles more" (6). Although the debate within this poem is evoked by stained glass, it is evident that the question of its appropriateness extends beyond its narrative content to its medium. Indeed, the Protestant figure recognises this, treating the Separatist's position with humour as they instruct the Glazier to "let your diamonds run / On white and green, no yellowes, blewes, nor reds" (3), and concludes with the assertion, "We banish collours to the sea of Roome" (3). *The Arraignment* illuminates that, firstly, colour was significant to the English Church, meriting literary commentary; and secondly, that in early modern England, a single, unified perspective on colour's place in Reformed ecclesiology did not exist.

Although the status of the image during the early modern period has been captured in relation to numerous contexts, including the Church, the theatre, the visual arts, the home, and literature, the relationship between the Reformed Church and colour has not yet been profiled.[147] Scholars have attended to the Reformation's iconoclasm; however, as Tara Hamling and Richard Williams have observed, "iconoclasm is only part of the story of the impact of the Reformation" (5). Indeed, the very definition of iconoclasm has been redefined to encompass not only "statues or representational images" but also "liturgical equipment" and "church ornamentation generally" (Spraggon xvi), yet little attention has yet been afforded to

[147] For studies notable in this regard, see Aston "Art" and "England's"; J. Phillips; Duffy; Spraggon; Gilman; Hamling and Williams; Tassi; O'Connell; and Collinson. Aston writes how colour's relationship to religion has not yet been chartered ("Foreword" xv), and George observes how "most studies emphasize the eradication of images and deal curiously, if at all, with the role that colour, and the suppression of colour played in the Reformation movement" (13).

what Michel Pastoureau describes as the "chromoclasm" of Protestantism (*Black* 124).[148] The Reformed Church in England was establishing its own theology of materiality, which included the Eucharist, Church furniture, clerical garments, the display of images, but it also encompassed colour. There are several passing references to colour in studies engaged with iconoclasm, including Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992), in which he observes that churches were asked to colour-in their images (557). However, these instances tend to take the place of footnote material. When the relationship between colour and the Church has been explicitly considered, it has been in relation to the practice of whitewashing. Particularly notable for its sustained examination of this practice is Victoria Ann George's *Whitewash and the New Aesthetic of the Protestant Reformation* (2012). In her study, George considers whether one should consider whitewashing as a kind of Protestant iconography (George 6), a "representation in its own right," rather than merely the most cost-effective means of concealing images (Aston, "Foreword" xx).[149] However, George reads all colours through white, and focuses on the two reformers, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin, rather than specifically the context of the English church (7). Although whitewashing is significant for the colour aesthetic of the Reformed Church, the early modern texts that engage with the question of colour in religious experience do not explicitly preoccupy themselves with whitewashed

[148] Indeed, idolatry is described by Carlos Eire as "not simply the worship of a physical object, but rather any form of devotion that is judged to be incorrect" (5) and expanded by Linda Gregerson to include anything that instead of pointing "beyond itself," "solicited attention or pleasure or belief on its own behalf" (1-2).

[149] Instances beyond George's study include Tara Hamling's correlation of the white of whitewash to light, and specifically the divine presence signalled by light (158); and Maurice Howard's understanding of lime plaster as a reflection of the print medium (270, 267-74).

walls; but rather, with garments, with cosmetics, and with church furnishings and architecture.[150]

While there has been a tendency in scholarship to treat colour as a material adjunct in Reformed ecclesiology, there were individuals in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who believed that exterior colour had interior consequences and sought to bring colouring under control. This chapter foregrounds the early modern colour debate stimulated by the Reformation as it explores the material significance of colour for the identity of the English Church. As Margaret Aston observes, the "Reformation for most believers meant the reformation of their parish church" (*England's* 16). The spiritual turn brought by the Reformation was felt in physical, tangible ways for those in early modern England, and especially within the context of their own place of worship. As this chapter explores the colourscape of the Church, it commences by considering the theological significance of colour, as detailed in Scripture, and as detailed by early modern writers. Examined is how creation's colours were believed to direct people to God, and conversely, how human involvement in colouring was thought to elicit idolatry.[151] The debate over what constitutes idolatrous behaviour was particularly heated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an era that Jonathan Holmes and Adrian Streete advocate was "characterised" by a "crisis of representational practice" (1). From here, this chapter investigates how colour was used as a measure of difference between the Catholic and the Reformed Church. To date, scholarship has attended only implicitly to this difference, as Peter Marshall, for example, refers to the "colourful rituals of Catholicism" (251). As Reformed theology impacted on the Church

[150] For Reformed attitudes to cosmetics, See Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics* 100.

[151] By exposing colour's relationship to idolatry, this chapter is situated in the recent trend in scholarship to consider, not just the subject matter of an idolatrous object, but its medium ("Free Thinking").

building, there was the creation of two divergent colour palettes – the colourific palette of the Catholic Church, and the muted tones of the Protestant Church.

In response to the theological and material significance of colour for the Church, this chapter engages with a question posed by Michel Pastoureau, who asks in his study of *Black* (2008) whether there are times when the Church was more, or less, chromophobic (124). As such, this chapter traces a chronological movement of attitudes to colouring in the period's literature, suggesting that the Church moved towards colour in the 1620s and 1630s, and that the 1640s and 1650s presented a reactionary chromophobia. As this chapter engages with attitudes to colour, it recognises that colour mentalities are not simply founded on "when" but on "who" is doing the colour thinking. That there was a divergence of tinctures deemed acceptable (or inappropriate) in the Church from the late sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century is symptomatic of the spectrum of theological thinking in the Protestant Church.[152] As the *Arraignment of Superstition* revealed, the Reformed Church was a divided Church, with religious factions including Calvinists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Puritans, Quakers, and Levellers. This existence of separate theological systems, which were interwoven with political currents, meant that there was no one uniform stance on the colour issue. Moreover, as Graham Parry highlights, "religious belief is an individual matter" and "men and women wove many different strands of doctrine into the cables of their conviction" (13). While it is difficult to ascertain how colour was experienced in the Church setting for the individual, there are tangible records of differing perceptions of colour in the period that shed light on several possible viewpoints. The overarching aim of exploring colour in the context of the Reformed Church is

[152] Considering this plurality, my use of "Church" in this chapter encompasses the body of believers (1 Corinthians 12:12), recognising that this body is made up of individual members with distinct viewpoints rather than a single entity with a unified perspective.

to understand how colour was believed to shape religious experience in early modern England, and how through literary debate, writers attempted to mould the Church's perception of colour.

Divine Hues and "Gods Ape"

The significance of colour for the Church starts at creation. The theology of creation, the belief that God created the world as recorded in Genesis has repercussions for the Church and its regard for nature. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John Calvin explains how "the object of creating all things was to teach us to know their author, and feel grateful for his indulgence" (Book 3, chapter 10, 33). As Calvin outlines, the biblical understanding of creation is that it is revealing of its maker, that creation provides a material connection between God and man. As an attribute of creation, colour was also considered a means via which God revealed himself, imbuing it with a distinctly spiritual significance. Divine colouration is exhorted by Calvin in this same section of his *Institutes*, as he rationalises how God can be known via sensuous phenomena:

> Has the Lord adorned flowers with all the beauty which spontaneously presents itself to the eye, and the sweet odour which delights the sense of smell, and shall it be unlawful for us to enjoy that beauty and this odour? What? Has he not so distinguished colours as to make some more agreeable than others? (32)

God made smells to delight, but he also made colour and an aesthetic appreciation of colour. This understanding of God's creation of colour is upheld by numerous English writers. In his *Godly and Learned Exposition of Christs Sermon in the Mount*, published in 1608, the popular clergyman and theologian, William Perkins, observes God's chromatic signature in creation as he explains that "God . . . hath set his owne name in the naturall colour of their haire" (170). As creator of colour, God is often described as the ultimate artisanal figure; whose canvas is

the earth and its inhabitants. This is the case in John Donne's *Anatomy of the World* (1611), which presents God as experimenting with the colours of creation:

> When nature was most busie, the first week,
>
> Swaddling the new born earth, God seemed to like
>
> That she should sport herself sometimes, and play
>
> To mingle, and vary colors every day.
>
> And then, as though she could not make enow
>
> Himself his various rainbow did allow. (B3v-B4r)

In Donne's account, God is arbiter of colour and His creation is presented in a constant state of colour-mixing, with an ever-changing palette. God's artistic ingenuity is accentuated by His "various rainbow," a phenomenon that attracted critical attention from scientists and theologians alike during the seventeenth century (Pastoureau, *Black* 144), who strived but struggled to determine the rainbow's colours. A similar depiction of God is presented by the author, William Austin, in *Haec Homo* (1637). In this essay, Austin draws comparisons between God's creative colouring and that of contemporary craftsmen and women as God grinds and mixes His colours to produce man: "*Adam* was made of *dust* . . . of *red* earth mingled with *yellow*, saith *Josephus*" (29).[153] The "*red* earth" bears direct correlation to ochre, the natural mineral source taken from the ground, which provides various shades of red and yellow

[153] John Owen, Independent minister and theologian, authored *Of Communion with God the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost* (1657) in which he explains that the name "Adam" was coined because of "the *red earth* whereof he was made" (52).

pigments commonly used by painters.[154] By presenting God's creation of man as a material, colourful process, Austin depicts God as the original and master painter.

As these examples demonstrate, nature's colours were not considered superfluous. Colour was understood as no less than a mark of the creator's hand throughout the mid sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Certainly, colour correlated with everyday religious conviction and with how individuals experienced divine influence in their present. One such individual was Henry Burton, the minister of a London congregation whose autobiography was published in 1643. The following extract is an account dated the 25th April 1640. At this stage in Burton's ministry he was imprisoned. Burton records that he prayed from his cell and received a direct – and colourful – answer from God:

> . . . thus looking forward, by and by there was presented before the window a Rainbow, lying flat all along upon the sea, with the two ends close to the shore, and the bow from me ward: it was a perfect and entire Rainbow; but because it did not, as ordinary Rainbowes, stand upright, but lay flat upon the sea, it filled me with wonderment; and so much the more, because looking both upwards and downwards, I saw no cloud for the rainbow to subsist in, neither was the ayre moist, it being a dry windy day . . . the Rainbow abode still for the space of half a quarter of an houre, keeping its posture, lying flat and steddy upon the sea; whereby it plainly appeared to be no naturall and ordinary Rainbow, but super-natural and miraculous. . .. I was persuaded, that God had sent this Rainbow to me for some speciall use, that I should make of it: But I knew not, nor could imagine what. I prayed againe, that the Lord would be pleased to shew what

[154] There are manifold portrayals of God as the arbiter of colour. The poet, Patrick Cary, returns chromatic agency to the creator: "This pretty dye / Which takes your eye / Is not at all the bird's" (3-5). See also Peacham, *Graphice* 2.

> use to make of it . . . Well, this interpretation I made of it . . . [it was] an answer to my prayers that day, and . . . a sign to assure me, that [God] would certainly and miraculously deliver his Church, which now lay floating upon the seas of affliction, ready to be swallowed up. . .. when at any time since I have beene disconsolate for the Church, I have presently reflected mine eyes upon my Rainbow, and have wherewith been comforted afresh . . . I say "*my* Rainbow" as having the sole propriety in it, seeing it was seene of none but my selfe alone. (24-25)

Burton believes that the colour phenomena he claims to have witnessed, crafted for an audience of one, was a direct message from God. That Burton's rainbow was of God's special design is emphasised throughout his account. The rainbow was not an arch in the sky but stretched across the flat surface of the sea; it was not formed during rainy weather as rainbows usually are, nor did it flicker with the movement of the water. It was a "supernatural" colouring, which evoked his "wonderment," as he recognised God's glory in the phenomenon. His conviction that God would answer his prayer in this way is founded in Scripture, as in Ezekiel 1:28-29, a "bow" presented "the appearance of the similitude of the glory of the Lord" and Ezekiel hears God's voice.[155] That God creates colour is understood by Burton and he also believes that as a sign of God's covenant, the rainbow brings reassurance and hope to God's people.

But just as God mingles exterior, earthly colours, or in Burton's case, exteriorised supernatural hues, he also actively engages in a process of colouring the interiors of men and women, as God's chromatic application is extended to His work of salvation. In Isaiah 1:18, God explains salvation in terms of a supernatural colour-change: "though your sins were as

[155] Moreover, a rainbow is first created in the Genesis account (9:11-17) as a sign of God's covenant with his people. Other writers conceive of God as connected to rainbows. Lanyer describes "A rainbow round about His glorious throne" in *Salve Deus* (Hodgson-Wright 67).

crimson, they shall be made white as snow: though they were red like scarlet, they shall be as wool".[156] In this verse, the salvific process is depicted in exteriorised, material terms, equated to the craftmanship of a divine dyer. Drawing on this verse, Aemilia Lanyer conceived of salvation as the donning of red and white fabrics, as chapter two outlined, but other early modern writers, such as John Donne and George Herbert also describe redemption as a colour transformation. In Donne's *Holy Sonnets*, the poet-speaker describes how Christ's blood's "being red," "dyes souls to white" ("Sonnet II" 14). Likewise, Herbert asserts how "Nothing can be so mean, / Which with his tincture (for thy sake) / Will not grow bright and clean" ('The Elixer' 14-16).[157] As redeemer and as creator, God wields mastery over colour and imbues the sensuous experience of colour with an attendant aesthetic and theological value. This value is, however, compromised by humankind's impetus to colour.

As chapter one considered, early moderns were aware of colour sources and their handling, and frequently applied these in creative ways in both domestic and professional contexts. For some, like William Perkins, "painting" could be viewed as an "ordinance of god," a skill no less than a "gift of God" (*A Reformed* 169).[158] For others, using colour was not how one honoured God. In Thomas Dekker's social commentary, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606), he includes "Apishness" as one of the seven sins, asserting that "Man is Gods

[156] Other verses describe salvation via colour. See Psalm 51:7.

[157] Robert Herrick also considers salvation in terms of colour in his poetry. Instances include, "To God" (343), "On Heaven" (369), "Good Friday: *Rex Tragicus*, or Christ Going to His Crosse" (398-99), and "The White Island: or Place of the Blest" (376-77).

[158] William Dyrness also notes how for Nicholas Hilliard, "the beauty of line and color was by no means inconsistent with his faith" (109).

ape, striving to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c, like to the natural" (42, 43).[159] This apishness often extended to how man emulated God's colour practice. In Juan Luis Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman,* translated from Latin into English by Richard Hyrde (1585), Vives maintains that "God made neither purple nor crimson sheep, nor taught to die with the juice of hearbs" (73). Without God's direction to redistribute the colours of nature, Vives subscribes to the viewpoint that colouring is an act of disobedience towards God, and this view was often presented by early modern writers.[160]

In Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), he postulates how English society partakes in a chromatic reimagining; "not . . . contente with their owne haire," women "buy other heyre" and dye it "of what color they list themselves" (F2v). Moreover, instead of using clothing as a daily reminder of the human race's original shame and fallen state (C4r-4v), Stubbes describes his contemporaries as delighting in "gaudie" clothing or "liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour" (P2r), drifting from "one of this colour, another of that . . . one of golde, and other of silver" (D6r). Vitally, Stubbes believes that apish colouring has spiritual consequences. In donning alternative colours on whim, either on the face or on the body, Stubbes maintains that individuals do not merely imitate God, but rather, they challenge and usurp His artistry, "for every one now adaies (almost) covet to deck and painte their living sepulchres . . . to delight the eyes of the unchast behoulders, wherby God is

[159] John Dee conflates the painter's art with God's, observing how the painter "'seemeth to have a certaine divine power'" (qtd. in Gilman 33).

[160] Certainly, it is dramatized in Thomas Middleton's *Owl's Almanac*, which addresses painters as "beauty-shadowers" who "rob the rainbow of her colours and disrobe the golden garden of her orient spots and flowers" (2334-36); in Shakespeare's *King John*: "add another hue / Unto the rainbow . . . / Is wasteful and ridiculous excess" (4.2.13-14, 16). Similarly, *Venus and Adonis* describes how "a painter would surpass the life / In limning out a well proportioned steed, / His art with nature's workmanship at strife" (289-91).

dishonored, offence is increased" (C4v). Colouring is presented as coveting colours not given directly by God, and to covet is directly disobedient to the Tenth Commandment, as recorded in Exodus 20:17. Furthermore, colouring is presented by Stubbes as a violation of the Second Commandment, as "gaudie" colours (defined as "Brilliantly fine or gay, highly ornate, showy") are devised to "delight".[161] Colouring is conceived of as simultaneously self-worship, and a longing to be worshipped by others. What Stubbes claims is that applied colour is symptomatic of narcissism and a locus of admiration, and for both these reasons it is spiritually dangerous, revealing a misplaced preoccupation with the self or with other humans, rather than a concentration on God and a respect for His creation. This connection between colour and idolatry was not novel when Stubbes was writing in the late sixteenth century. It was a connection that carried weight in early modern England, having been forged in the Tudor foundations of English Protestantism.

To spread Reformed theology in the English Church, each Sunday, homilies were orated to congregations, outlining the key tenets of Reformed doctrine. In the "Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches," first issued in 1563, the problem of misdirected worship was confronted.[162] The writer (thought to be Bishop John Jewel), affirms that the Church is a place "where the lively word of God ought to be read, taught. . . heard" (25).[163] The current English Church, the writer believes, is a far cry from this image, instead "contrarie" to the "Scriptures," "contrarie" to the "Primitive Church," and "contrarie" to the "godly doctours" of the Church in its idolatrous practices (26). While this homily does

[161] gaudy, adj.2." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2015. Web. 28 January 2016.

[162] This homily's ubiquitous character is evident, appearing both in R.T.'s *De Templis* (224), and William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (104).

[163] For authorship, see G. Parry 7.

foreground images in its attack on things that are idolatrous, it also corroborates Stubbes' view of colour as a hazardous medium:

> the corruption of these latter dayes hath brought into the Churche infinite multitudes of images, and the same, with other partes of the temple also, have decked with golde and silver, painted with colours, set them with stone and pearle, clothed them with silks and pretious vestures, phantasing untruly that to be the chief decking and adourning of the temple or house of God, and that all people should be more moved to the due reverence of the same, if all corners thereof were glorious and glistering with golde and pretious stones . . . seeming to worship, and peradventure worshipping in deede, not onely the images, *but also the matter of them* . . . (26-27; emphasis added)

Gold, silver, painted colours, precious stones that glisten, all these descriptions suggest that the material attributes, the "matter" displayed in the Church, were as important to dispel with as the images the place of worship housed. "But away, for shame," the writer continues, "with these coloured cloaks of idolatry" (155), his figurative language emphasising not only the perceptual prominence of colour in the English church, but also the danger of colour to the individual's relationship with God. The superlative language used by the writer here to describe the colourful material matter – "glorious," "glistering," and "precious" – highlights that people could fall into idolatry because colour bestowed misplaced value on things, rather than on God. But as well as promoting covetousness amongst the congregation, colours are an issue because of their mimetic power. The homily highlights this as it quotes from the book of Wisdom, 15:4-6: "The painting of the picture and carved image with divers colours inticeth the ignorant, so that he honoureth and loveth the picture of a dead image that hath no soul" (34). The issue presented here is that the allure of colour could inspire reverence toward the wrong object of veneration. Such was the implication of colour's mimetic power that the Catholic Church responded in kind to the issue of chromatics. At the Council of Trent, which met in the

December of 1563, it was decided that their congregations were to be warned that the godhead could not be "seen with bodily eyes or expressed in colours or figures" (Aston, *England's* 45). The Council's focus was on the capacity of colour to enable mimetic representation, and thereby to convince congregations that they could not see, via colour, a glimpse of the divine.

That colour conferred verisimilitude, and by extension, could dupe people into believing they were seeing a living entity, rather than an inanimate thing, continued to be theologically unsettling in early modern England. In the final scene of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* (1609-11), often considered in relation to the idolatrous nature of the image, prominent yet overlooked is the relationship between idolatry and colour.[164] There is an explicit awareness that the "*figure of* HERMIONE, *standing like a statue*" is but an artist's creation (5.3.21), reiterated aurally in the scene previous (5.2.85-88), and repeated by Paulina who juxtaposes the "life . . . lively mocked" against the "dead likeness" made at the artist's hand (5.3.19, 15). Despite this, Leontes and Perdita struggle to ascertain the difference between divine and human agency, between nature and art, and the unfolding scene pivots around these viewers' belief in the image's humanity. Both Leontes and Perdita feel drawn to the figure of Hermione, with Perdita kneeling and choosing to "implore her blessing" and Leontes stating that he will kiss her (5.3.44; 77,79), respective actions that effectively treat Hermione's statue as evoking an idolatrous response. B.J. Sokol asks of the play, "could Leontes still have said of a *monochromatic* statue of Hermione "'Would you not deem it breath'd?'" His reply: "I believe a late Renaissance answer would be "'yes'" (91). However, Sokol's assertion does not consider how Paulina attempts to counter the livelihood of the statue. Paulina consistently seeks to undermine the statue's chromatic integrity as she repeats the materiality of the colour as paint,

[164] See Jensen; Porter; and Waldron 15, 78-79, 81-83. On Shakespeare's enduring preoccupation with the boundaries between nature and art, see Meek; Kendrick; Sokol; and Tayler.

with “colour’s / Not dry,” “wet,” “newly fixed,” “stain,” and “oily painting” (5.3.48-49, 81, 48, 82, 83). These repeated references to applied colour emphasise that the colours are – as the homily describes - what “inticeth” Leontes and Perdita into treating Hermione’s figure as a living entity. It is in challenging the colour that Paulina challenges the mimetic force of the statue.

The notion that colour facilitates the mimetic power of objects is also discussed in Sir Henry Wotton’s *Elements of Architecture,* published in 1624. It is evident in this treatise that Wotton believes in the danger of colouring, describing it as a medium – as does Shakespeare’s play – that lures individuals into false worship. Wotton records that “*colouring*” provides “*Force*, and *Affection*” (86), which he defines as “the *Lively Representment,* of any *passion* whatsover, as if the *Figures* stood not upon a *cloth* or *Boorde,* but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*” (88). What Wotton has described is that colour facilitates an object’s mimetic representation, endowing it with the appearance of conveying life and movement. Certainly, Wotton highlights that a two-dimensional image, or statue, carries a distinctive and recognisable shape; yet its representative power is more persuasive when coloured, for “the expressing of Affection…is as proper to the Caruer, as to the Painter; though Colours, no doubt, haue there in the greatest Power” (89). Wotton’s conviction regarding the enticement of colour is evoked in his direction that a “Modell bee as plaine as may be, without colours or other beautifying, lest the pleasure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgement*” (65). For Wotton, as for Shakespeare and the homily addressing idolatry, colours were an important catalyst to corruption, possessing the ability to override reason. Applied in a Church context, the danger of colour was magnified. With colour’s capacity to translate the image from a similitude to something verisimilar, colours enabled connection between an image and an individual; a connection which Reformers believed should only be with the Word. Instead, of acting as a pedagogic tool, colour was believed by many to blur and smudge the distinction between what

is of nature and what is not; between self-absorption and veneration of the divine; between what reflects the divine and what is an embodiment; and therefore, between what is of God and what is of human. While these fears of human colouring circulated in written and verbal discourses, the Protestant Church in England was also contending with the colourful identity of its pre-Reformation counterpart.

Tonal Changes

Religious experience in pre-Reformation Europe was shaped by olfactory, aural, haptic, and visual stimuli.[165] "Sensation made traditional medieval religious life happen" is how Matthew Milner summarises the reality of the pre-Reformation church (3), as incense, music, candles, artwork, vestments, and the doctrine of transubstantiation contributed to the many sensible experiences fundamental to Catholic worship. While the image was undoubtedly a foregrounded visual element of medieval religious experience, both images and colour were fundamental to the architecture of the Catholic church.[166] To share biblical pedagogy with a largely illiterate society, the Catholic Church relied on colourful visual media: biblical narratives were illustrated through stained-glass windows and paintings, offering the equivalent of picture books for pre-readers, while religious figures were often depicted in painted, three-dimensional forms as statuary.[167] Colour was also utilised as a means of guidance

[165] For the sensorial experience of Catholic worship in early modern England, see Whiting xv; Milner 2; Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 24-41; Hamilton and Spicer 7-8.

[166] For a portrait of the pre-Reformation Church, see Whiting (xiii-xv).

[167] For more on the challenge of illiteracy and the importance of drama to an understanding of religion, see P. White 167-68. Luther justified the presence of images because of their instructional value (Gilman 35); Sir Thomas More referred to images as "the books of lay people, wherein they read the life of Christ" (Whiting 149); the 1563 "Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches'"(267); Calvin's *Institutes*,

in ecclesiastical spaces as the liturgical calendar directed the chromatic display of church fabrics, including the priest's apparel, as each significant event, such as Whitsun or Corpus Christi day, brought with it a change of colour (Whiting Xv, 73-5; Milner 116).[168] But colour in the medieval Church went beyond biblical instruction, taking on a more aesthetic character as every surface, whether a wall, rood screen, gable, capital, or window, became a place to decorate and to colour-in (Aston, *England's* 21). Traces of this colouring-in can be seen in Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, and one of the most notable examples is the structure erected as a tomb for Bishop William de Luda in 1299, which no longer houses the tomb chest, but still presents the canopy that surrounded it (Figs. 8, 9, and 10). Reds, greens, blues, and gold all co-exist and intertwine on this structure, which is lavishly coloured and visually arresting as a direct result, especially as its colours interact with the overall palette of the church, including that provided by the stained-glass windows (Fig. 9). Apart from the fixed-colouration of the Church's structural components, individuals from within the congregation could influence its chromatic displays by providing clothing, shoes, and jewellery for the statuary on display, or by assigning artwork or fabric to the Church in their wills.[169] In 1516, for instance, Margaret Arundell outlined in her will that an altar cloth should be embroidered to include Jesus and Mary, surrounded with gold lettering, on specifically "crymsun damask" for a church in

Book 1, Chapter 11 (95-96): "let Papists, then, if they have any sense of shame, henceforth desist from the futile plea that images are the books of the unlearned" (96); Freedberg (398).

[168] The presence of colour on walls, on objects, and on the vestments worn by the priest, were also ubiquitous in the private chapels of those who practised Catholicism (Williams 97-98).

[169] James (74); Prynne (108); Calvin's *Institutes*, Book 1, Chapter 11: "Were any one to dress himself after their model, he would deserve the pillory . . . Let Papists then have some little regard to decency in decking their idols" (96).

London called St Bartholomew the Little (qtd. in James 73).[170] This intertwining of Church architecture and congregational contributions made the medieval Church an ornate and synaesthetic space, ablaze with colour.

Fig. 8. The highest point of the canopy. Ely Cathedral. Photograph. 1 May 2017.

[170] Individuals often had images painted onto colourful fabrics to use in their private worship at home. For several examples of this, see Williams 108.

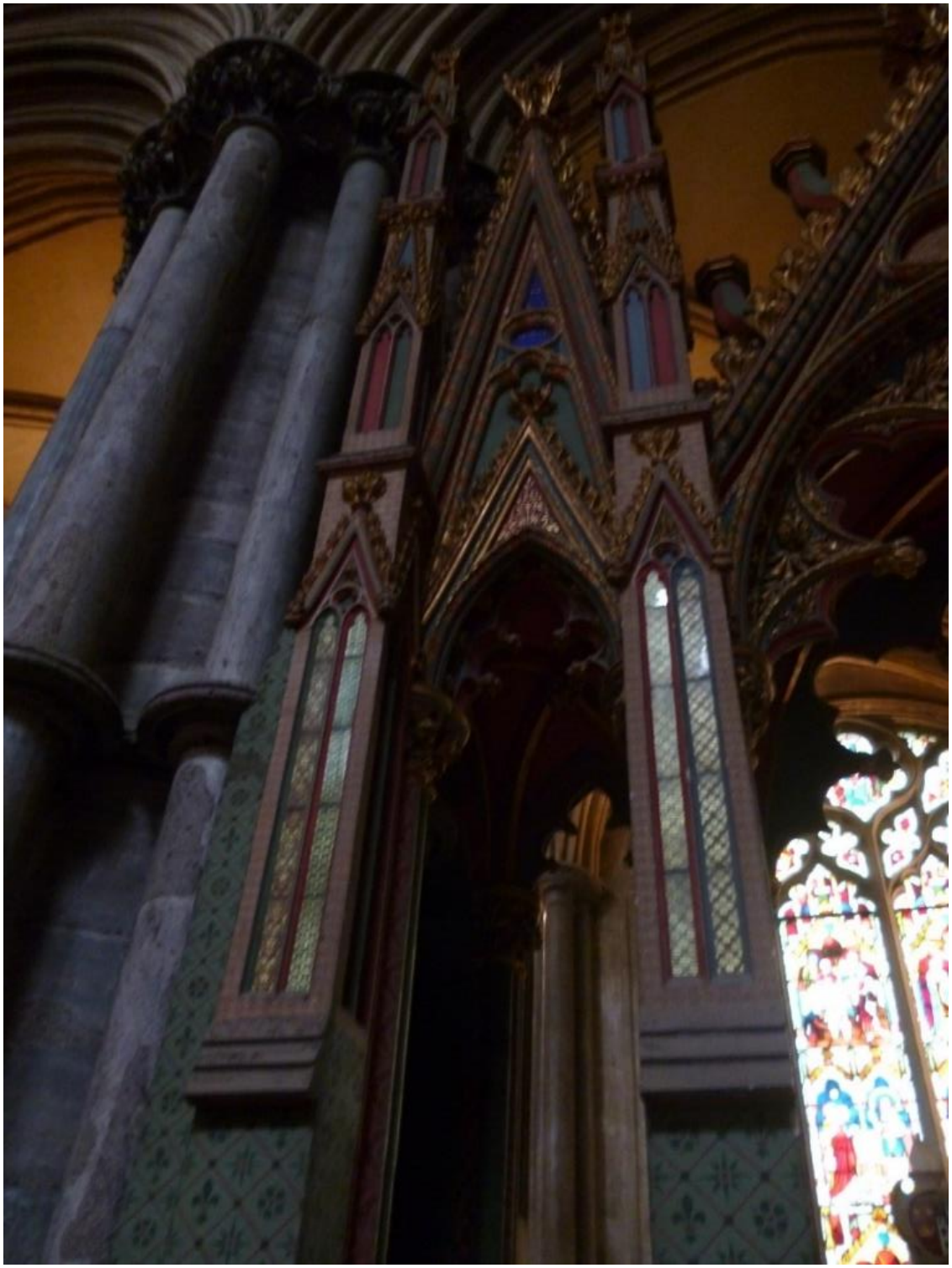

Fig. 9. One of the pillars of the canopy structure. Ely Cathedral. Photograph. 1 May 2017.

Fig. 10. The base of one of the canopy's pillars. Ely Cathedral. Photograph. 1 May 2017.

Even though such sensuous displays and actions had been commonplace throughout the Church's recent history, they were particularly contentious during the early modern period. The increased accessibility of the Scriptures and the triune Reformed manifesto of *sola*

scriptura, sola fide, and *sola gratia,* brought into question these widely respected and widely practised sources of religious knowledge and demonstrations of piety. Following the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, the assertive iconoclastic activity under Edward VI, the Marian regime and its return to Catholicism, and Elizabeth's determined restoration to Protestantism, the English Church had undergone many doctrinal changes, and these changes altered its practices and its visual landscape. Baptism, vestments, communion, prayer, and music were all richly debated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Maus 15), and associated items – the material markers of such practices – were included or occluded depending on theological doctrine.[171] These doctrinal changes, and their associated material changes, meant that the English Church would look exceedingly different post-Reformation. In the *Institutes*, Calvin provided a blueprint in the form of the primitive Church for Reformed places of worship: "let us remember that for five hundred years, during which religion was in a more prosperous condition, and a purer doctrine flourished, Christian churches were completely free from visible representations" (Book 1, chapter 11, 101). Calvin makes it clear that to emulate the early Church's "purer doctrine," the Church needed to relinquish its visual character. Taking up the charge, reformers in early modern England oriented themselves as restorers, returning to the original Church practices of the New Testament, and to its original appearance (Spicer, "The Material" 84; Aston, *England's* 9). The material trappings of Catholicism were fervently attacked, both physically, by iconoclastic activity and whitewashing, and verbally, via homilies and print.

That the Catholic and the Reformed Churches possessed their own visual identity was frequently acknowledged in early modern England, made explicit in the title of John Bale's *Image of Both Churches* (1548), which highlights that the two Churches were separate visual

[171] On priest's clothing, for example, see Jones and Stallybrass 4.

entities as well as estranged by fundamental theological differences. For Reformers, the Catholic Church's appearance was materially and figuratively characterised by colour as they presented its colouration as both a physical attribute and as a pretext for corruption. In John Foxe's exceedingly popular *Acts and Monuments*, colour is a word associated with what Foxe deems as the false Church.[172] In his preface he writes of how "the Bishops of Rome under colour of antiquity have turned truth into heresy" (10). Indeed, colour in Foxe's text becomes metonymic of the deception and hypocrisy of Catholicism and its supporters, who display "false colour of holiness" (Book 3, 177); and need to "appeare in their owne colour, wherein they were first painted" (Book 1, 81). In each of these instances, colour is used to describe the exterior show of holiness that hides internal corruption and impiety. Colour and hypocrisy were so intertwined in Foxe's religious discourse that he refers to "true Christen men," those of the Protestant faith, as being "without colour or dissimulation" (Book 9, 1396), and in stating, "I shall recite my doctrine without any colour" (Book 8, 1293), he plainly asserts a direct correlation between pure intention and achromatism. This colourful characterisation of the pre-Reformation Church could flourish because the Protestant Church was visually at a remove from the colourful portrait of the Catholic Church.[173] It could, as a consequence, claim both a theological and a visual change of character that affirmed its spiritual superiority.

Indeed, the ubiquitous conceptualisation of the Catholic Church as highly coloured was often contrasted with the austere appearance of the Protestant Church. For example, a priest's

[172] Indeed, Foxe's book remained popular throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Elizabeth Isham records reading *Acts and Monuments* in her diary entry for 1633. While read in domestic spaces, Foxe's martyrology was also placed alongside the Bible in English churches (Maus 17; Barnard 8), such was its regard in early modern England.

[173] Foxe was not alone in his affiliation of colour with Catholicism. Andrew Willet described the Pope as acting "under an other colour" (238) in *Hexapla in Danielem* (1610).

vestments would have included a cassock, surplice, cope, and stole. Both the cassock and the cope were richly coloured, and the cope was also embroidered with gold because it was worn for religious processions (Whiting 71; Milner 116). Instead of these richly coloured garments, the stark visual contrast of the minister's surplice of black and white was intended to signal his change of role within the Church (Whiting 82; Foxe Book 4, 217, Book 5, 655). Every distance theologically was signalled materially, and colour was often the victim. Once all objects and ornamental features deemed decisively incompatible with Reformed doctrine were removed, still in situ in many Protestant Churches were stained-glass windows, royal arms, heraldry, and funeral monuments, the only colourful remnants.[174] The colouristic change brought about by the Reformation was profound for Church leaders and attendees. The Bishop of Norwich, named Joseph Hall, described Catholicism as "that courtesan of Rome" who "sets herself out to sale in tempting fashion; here want no colors, no perfumes, no wanton dresses". In comparison, the "poor spouse of Christ" – the Reformed Church – "can only say of herself, "I am black, but comely.'" (qtd. in Maus 40).[175] Hall responds to this colouristic detachment from the Catholic Church as a move towards holiness, describing the Reformed muted-palette as "comely," meaning "beautiful," "appropriate," and morally acceptable.[176]

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[174] For information regarding these material remnants, see Spraggon xiv; Whiting 119, 134; Aston, "Art" 243-66; Spicer, "So Many" 252; and for polychromatic tombs, see Llewellyn 6, 228. Henry Peacham's *Art of Drawing* (1606) directs his readers to the finest example – in his eyes – of stained glass in England Churches: "The best workmanship that may be seene in England at this daie in glasse, is in K. Colledge Chappel in Cambridge, containing (as they say) the whole history both of the old and the new testament" (64).

[175] Moreover, in his *Holy Sonnets* (*c.*1609), John Donne's speaker-poet enquires of the true Church: "Show me, deare Christ, thy spouse so bright and cleare. / What! is it she which on the other shore / Goes richly painted?" ("Sonnet 18" 1-3).

[176] "comely, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 24 March 2018. Def. 1a; 2a.

Whether or not congregations were as content as Hall with the changes made to their church's palette, what is significant is that there was a palpable colour change that was noticed by English men and women. The visual changes and colourful rhetoric encouraged the English to view colour as central to the Catholic Church's identity, and a limited colour palette as exterior evidence of the Church's commitment to Reformed theology. The colouristic atmosphere of the Catholic Church was a lasting sensory memory, and one that stayed with the English laity. In Haydocke's translation of Lomazzo's *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge* (1598), he draws on this sensory memory of colour to explain to imagined readers the processes of preparing colours. "And in Limning, where the colours are likewise mixed with gummes, but laid with a thicke body and substance . . . This was much used in former times in Church books, (as is well known)" (126). The colour of the pre-Reformation Church was a collective memory, it was a sensory experience that had been experienced by touch, and by sight; it was and remained to be "well known" in early modern England.

The Canvas for Worship

As colour was implicated with the visual identity of the Roman Catholic Church, and because colour was considered symptomatic of, and an inducement to, idolatry, any attempts made by churches to incorporate colour into their ecclesiology were immediately problematic. Indeed, even the white surplice of ministers was called into question, viewed as unnecessarily superstitious (G. Parry 88), a reservation that frames how Philip Stubbes explicates the colouration of clerics' garments in his *Second Part of the Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). Aware of existing colour concerns, Stubbes relates theological and moral significations of the dichromatic combination of the white surplice with black garment. Black, he explains, is a "good, grave, sad, and auncient colour" (O7v), while white "doth signify holiness, innocency, & al kind of integrity" (P6r). Stubbes argues that the white offers a kind of mimetic power that is acceptable in God's sight, for it does not induce idolatry, but rather enriches the minister's

and the congregation's mentality, "putting them in mind what they ought to be in this life," and "representeth unto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come" (P6r). Here, colours encourage collective connections and responses, but rather than idolisation, Stubbes maintains that white and black inspire minister and parishioner alike to consider their existence in light of eternal concerns. Because colour initiated connections and reactions, those who wanted to extend the colour palette were required to alter the narrative of colour. Indeed, to add colours to the church canvas in early modern England required substantial evidence that the church was not making a return to its pre-Reformation state; that the church was not using colour in a way that could constitute promoting idolatrous behaviour; and that the church's colouration was not contrary to, or interfering with, the Word of God.

While Stubbes felt the need to justify the black and white clerical attire, there is evidence that some English churches were seeking more hues for the church environment. For instance, St Michael and All Angels congregation in Somerton, Somerset, presented a freshly coloured pulpit in 1615 (Orlik n. pag.).[177] On a national scale, the extending of the English Church's colour palette was foremost in the 1620s and 1630s. The assertive re-entry of colour was possible because of the established Church's movement towards Arminianism, a theological system that maintains an anti-Calvinist position, disagreeing fundamentally with its doctrine of predestination.[178] In the context of the English Church, this theological system is termed "Laudianism," so-named because it was advanced by William Laud, bishop of London from 1628 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 (G. Parry xi). At Charles I's

[177] Certainly, an extensive colour palette was exercised in James I's Chapel Royal, as Andrew Melville penned a poetic response to his experience of attending worship there in 1606. In his poem, Melville questions whether "she . . . with Chapel put in Romish dress, / The purple Whore religiously expresse?" (Yorke 90).

[178] Instead, Arminians ascribe to a doctrine of universal atonement, see Tyacke 143; von Greyerz 81; and G. Parry 11. For a comprehensive definition of *Arminianism*, see Tyacke 156-59.

ascension to the throne in 1625, Laudianism was granted patronage from both the King and the Duke of Buckingham.[179] Laudians were inspired by Psalm 96:9, which implores, "O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth".[180] The "beauty of holiness" described by the Psalmist was transposed as the refrain of the Laudian Church (G. Parry 16), inspiring its emphatic emphasis on church consecration: the separation of the Church building as sacred space.[181] Believing that the place of worship should both reflect the majesty of God and bear witness to the congregation's reverence towards their creator, Archbishop Laud and Charles I advanced their shared doctrinal and ecclesiological agenda for the established Church. This had the consequence of returning the external forms of worship cast out by Reformed theology, including artwork, altars, kneeling, new stained glass, and ornate clerical garments, but Laudian consecration also significantly reassessed the Reformed Church's stance on colour.

Laudian ecclesiology is outlined in a treatise by R.T., entitled, *De Templis, A Treatise of Temples: Wherein is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating and Adorning of Churches* (1638). As the treatise rationalises Laudian ceremony, adornment, and liturgy, it also vindicates colour. The reintroduction of church embellishment is carefully posited in this treatise, founded on an alternative definition of what constitutes the "primitive" Church. *De Templis* advocates that the primitive Church is not that which is presented in the New Testament, as hailed by Reformers, but rather the tabernacle ordained by God in Exodus and the Temple of Jerusalem, both of which are described in the Old Testament (G. Parry 6,

[179] Charles I even placed the prominent Arminian, Richard Montagu, under "personal protection" (Tyacke 144). For Charles's influence on church interiors, see R.T. 183-84.

[180] This verse is referenced from the King James Version.

[181] For the emphasis on consecration in the established Church during the 1620s and 1630s, see Spicer, "God". For a succinct definition of consecration, see 211.

16). R.T. posits that the blueprint of these places of worship was ordained by God, as he explains that "God himselfe dictated to Moyses the ornaments of the Tabernacle" (178). Using the tabernacle as the ultimate example of Church ecclesiology had the significant repercussion of reclaiming colour for the Church interior, for colour is explicitly commissioned by God for the building of the tabernacle. In Exodus, God is recorded as providing instructions for threads of purple, blue, and scarlet, along with the precious metals of gold, silver, and bronze, and these colours are to be used for the tabernacle's veil, curtains, a screen for the entrance, and a screen for the court's gate.[182] This reference to Exodus is carefully located in R.T.'s treatise, juxtaposed by a picture of the Reformed Church in England, which "Wee have seene . . . painted . . . but with such gaudy colours as can adde no ornament to so solemn & religious a place" (185). While R.T. does not negate the presence of colour in the English Church, his problem with the current Church model is the *choice* of colours. Rather than exuding respect and obedience, *De Templis* claims the Church has neglected God's direction, instead choosing colours so distasteful that the Church is simply not recognisable as a place of worship. For with its "bare walls" and "bare boards" there is "scarce . . . any resemblance of a Church" and "no Religion in the whole fabrique" (201, 184-85). By establishing a connection between exterior appearance and inward, spiritual character, *De Templis* advocates colour as a means of externalising interior reverence for God.

While the Reformed Church's objection to colour included colour's capacity to bestow value on things, and colour's adeptness for verisimilitude, R.T. maintains that these qualities of colour can be harnessed as sensuous supports in collective worship. Assuming the role of chromatic advisor, R.T. proposes several ways to bring colour into the church building. Initially, R.T. advocates stained-glass windows, which were the most visible additions in High

[182] See Exodus 25:3-4; 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16.

Church decoration during the 1620s and 1630s (G. Parry 6, 100-01, 104). The colours of stained glass are depicted as facilitating the hearing and internalising of Scripture.[183] Natural "light diffuses" internal devotion to such an extent that "did we not close our eyes, wee could hardly keepe our thoughts from wandring abroad," whereas "painted" windows filter the distracting brightness (196-97). In connecting colour to Scripture, R.T. asserts that colour does bestow regard, and specifically a regard for the sermon. *De Templis* also advances the cause for colour as it turns from church windows to its ceilings. With regards to the roof, R. T. explains:

> You may adorn it with an azure colour, and guilded stars and then as in figure, so in colour it resembles the Hemisphear of the Heavens, which perhaps gave occasion . . . to cal the Church . . . an earthly heaven. (198)

In addition to its rearticulations of how colour projects value, *De Templis* proposes that colour's mimetic properties can be purposefully directed, for by painting the roof of the Church blue with gold stars, it casts a heavenly aspect for the congregation. In both instances, R.T. justifies the purpose of colour, as well as the expense of colouring, for stained glass and azure paint, while resembling pre-Reformation churches, are also costly additions to a church building.

The promotion of colour in *De Templis* is exhibited in other literary examples during this period, and especially noteworthy in this respect is the poetry of George Herbert.[184] Although Herbert was not fundamentally "Laudian" (G. Parry 23, 132), his poetry published in *The Temple* in 1633 is revealing of an individual who sympathised with the beautifying

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[183] This defence of colourful stained-glass was common during this period, as evidenced in William Strode's poem, "On Fairford Windows," which describes the medium as "catechizing paint" (qtd. in G. Parry 75).

[184] The cause for colour advanced in John Taylor's *Needles Excellency* (1631), which was discussed in chapter two, emulates Laudian arguments as it draws on the example of the tabernacle (A2v) and the Temple of Jerusalem as "resplendent and most glorious to the eye: / Whose out-side much glory did infold" (Br).

tenets of Laudianism, and particularly their practice of colouring church interiors.[185] Like *De Templis*, Herbert's colour understanding is brought to the fore as he considers stained-glass windows. In "The Windows," Herbert lexicalises his relationship with God as an individual, and particularly, as a preacher, using the external object of a stained-glass window. This window is both metaphorical and literal, strongly reminiscent of pre-Reformation stained-glass windows, as well as those which survived iconoclastic amendment or had been recently added to church buildings. Although this poem is concerned with a material object and depicts an awareness of the artistic process of glass painting (G. Parry 137), Herbert utilises the stained glass as a metaphor for the preacher as a mediator of the Word of God. The preacher is a "brittle, crazy glass," who is to be "a window through thy grace" (2, 5). Like stained-glass windows, the preacher tells a narrative, and has a prominent place in the Church interior ("Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford / This glorious and transcendent place" [3-4]). Interestingly, the experience of God's intervention, His Holy Spirit, is described by Herbert as a process of chromatic application, as observed in the allusion to burning colours in the line "thou dost anneal in glass thy story" (6). Through his employment of the active verb "anneal," Herbert suggests that God uses colour to bring about transformation in the lives of His followers. More than this, Herbert stresses through this coupling of "anneal" and possessive pronouns that God takes His colour and makes it a feature of His followers. Effectively, the preacher is a carrier of God's colour; a container of God's Holy Spirit.

To illustrate the implication of this chromatic distribution, Herbert presents the danger of the preacher relying exclusively on the Word in his third and final stanza:

[185] Herbert's theological stance pivots in scholarship between the divergent doctrines of Calvinism and Arminianism. For discussions of Herbert's Arminian leanings, see Stewart; and R. V. Young. Conversely, for evidence of his Calvinism, see Hodgkins; Strier; and Vieth.

Doctrine and life, colors and light, in one

When they combine and mingle, bring

A strong regard and awe; but speech alone

Doth vanish like a flaring thing,

And in the ear, not conscience ring. (11-15)

Here, God and the preacher of His word are presented as co-creators, as artists working in tandem with one another. Indeed, the collaboration of "colors and light" is a fundamental in painting. Herbert highlights that reading or hearing Scripture is personally, and collectively, dramatic and transformative, but he emphasises that it is colour that stands in the gap between the Word and an individual's understanding. Margaret Aston gestures to this process in describing the numinous combination of light and stained glass: "As long as stained or painted glass remained in the windows of church…coloured light could continue to dapple the interior of places of worship with magical effects of shifting rainbow lights" (Aston, Foreword xvii).[186] Light through stained glass allows the casting of colours beyond the window pane, which tint what they fall on (see Fig. 11). Herbert understands this, and his metaphor posits colouring as spiritual illumination as colours radiate beyond the "glass" of the preacher, and out into his congregation. This colouration begets "strong regard and awe"; whereas, speech in isolation does not affect the "conscience". Herbert describes the sermon as "flaring," but for this to have lasting impact it requires annealing – it requires colour. As in *De Templis*, for Herbert it is colour that acts as a mediating force; it is colour that both expresses and recalls religious experience; and it is colour that leaves a lasting impression. Herbert's treatment of colour

[186] John Gage also refers to how stained glass brings a "colouristic atmosphere to the architectural space" (*Colour and Meaning* 38).

essentially marries the weight of Protestant internal conviction with external expression, reconciling the presence of colourful stained-glass windows to the Reformed Church's emphasis on Scripture.

Fig. 11. The colour-casting effect of stained-glass windows in Norwich Cathedral. Photograph. 1 May 2017.

While Judy Kronenfeld argues that "The Windows" is more concerned with interior transformations than church interiors (55-80), another poem published in *The Temple* implies that Herbert was an individual preoccupied with the external appearance of the Church building, and specifically its colouration. In "The British Church," Herbert, like his contemporaries, has perceived the Church's stark colour changes: "For all they either painted are, / Or else undrest" (11-12). Moreover, he presents himself as one struggling with the staunch chromatic disparity of the Catholic and Reformed Churches as Herbert's individual portrait of the Catholic and Protestant Churches attends to the décor. The Church of Rome is described as "on the hills" and having "kiss'd so long her painted shrines" (13, 16); whereas, "She in the valley," the Calvinist Church, "avoids her neighbours pride, / She wholly goes on th'other side, / And nothing wears" (19, 22-24). Using the extended metaphor of clothing, Herbert's desire for the Church is a median state of dress, which is presented as a balance of visible colouration, described as a "fine aspect in fit array, / Neither too mean, nor yet too gay," which provides "perfect lineaments, and hue / Both sweet and bright" (7-8, 2-3). Even though "The Windows" uses the metaphor of stained-glass colouration, George Herbert's "The British Church" explicitly entreats the established Church to extend its colour palette.

The Caroline Church's emphasis on consecration redefined colour as a means by which devotion was encouraged and expressed. However, colour lost its standing in the English Church in the 1640s and 1650s. While opposition to the Arminian doctrine of the established Church was an underlying current throughout the 1620s and 1630s, it was foregrounded during the English Civil War (1642-48), as Charles I lost credibility with Parliament after eleven years of Personal Rule from 1629-40 and Archbishop Laud was arrested in 1640 (Sommerville 475; G. Parry 6). From 1641, at Parliament's command, there was a systematic publishing of sermons on the Fast Day of each month. These sermons highlighted the belief that England was returning to Catholicism, that the Reformation was incomplete, and that urgent action was

required to ensure that England was nationally protected from a Counter-Reformation (Lowenstein and Morrill 673). As Puritans regarded the "beauty of holiness" as a smokescreen for idolatry, a setting aside of Scripture, and a Counter-Reformation movement (Tyacke 146), they used the Civil War climate as an opportunity to enact a greater zeal of aniconism than had been experienced during Edward VI's reign; an aniconism that extended to the material presence of colour in the Church.[187]

What is clear from anti-Laudian discourse is a connection that has been cemented by the mid-seventeenth century between the established English Church and colour. As early as 1628, Peter Smart, a Puritan minister based in Durham, described the ecclesiastics of the Laudian Church as "parti-coloured cope-wearers" in his illegally-published *Vanitie and Downe-fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies* (24). In a similar strain, despite postdating Smart's comments by over ten years, Richard Culmer asserts that Laudians "loved their cathedral Jezebel the better because she was painted" (qtd. in Staley 258). These examples highlight that the connection between colour and the Anglican Church is significant because it directly emulates the colourful identity ascribed to Catholicism that still resonated in the memories of English men and women. Certainly, both Churches share the designation of "Jezebel" in religious polemic, and Culmer's use of "cathedral" rather than "church" is revealing of his belief in the material correspondence of the two Churches. This association between the Catholic and Laudian Churches added fuel to anti-Laudian voices who actively argued that the established Church was stepping back into England's pre-Reformation Church and its idolatrous practices. One such voice was that of the poet and polemicist, John Milton, who, while himself antagonistic towards the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, disagreed

[187] Margo Todd highlights that the Civil War is "sometimes labelled the Puritan Revolution," for it was "the final effort of the godly fully to realize the English Reformation for the nation" (367). For a detailed account of Puritan iconoclasm during the English Civil War, see Spraggon.

with the visual and ceremonial character of the Laudian Church (G. Parry 13). Of course, as an advocate for Republicanism in England, Milton also took unkindly to the relationship between Charles I and the Laudian Church.[188] In his tract, *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England* (1641), Milton consistently criticises ceremonial worship (61), and draws out the material connections – including that of colour – between the established and Roman Catholic Church. He describes the Anglican churches as "idolatrous . . . Temples beautified exquisitely to out-vie the Papists" with "Images, Pictures, rich Coaps" and "gorgeous Altar-Clothes" (61-62) and exclaims that "if the splendour of Gold and Silver begin to Lord it once againe in the Church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow heere, though his cheife Kennell be at Rome" (62). Milton condemns the lack of differentiation that exists between the Catholic and Anglican Church, with the role of colour hinted at through his adjectival terminology of "beautified," "gorgeous" and "splendour" suggesting opulent chromatic application.

Certainly, the colour aesthetic of the tabernacle in Exodus, of reds, purples, and blues, is dominant in records of High Church décor, revealing both an active response of emulation to the Exodus account and a Church palette that would have been visually striking to the congregation. In William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (1646), a record of the Archbishop of Canterbury's trial and a fervent attack on his failings, there is a catalogue of the material trappings of churches across the country, which foreground each item's colouration. In one church, the "wall behind the Altar" was "covered with Azure coloured stuffe with a white silke lace down each seame" (81). In the detailed inventory for Bishop Lancelot Andrewes' chapels at "Aberguilly, London-house and Lambeth," are included the following items: "A Pall of Violet Damaske"; "A Cushion of Violet and Crimosin Damaske"; "Two Traverses of Taffeta

[188] His republican agenda would later come to the forefront of national politics through his publication of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), and *A Defence of the People of England* (1651); two texts that endeavoured to justify the regicide of Charles I on the 30th January 1649.

Crimosin and violet Paned"; "A Pulpit cloath of Crimosin and violet damaske paned"; "A Carpet of purple Broad-cloath"; and "A cloth to the Lecterne of Purple broad cloth" (121, 123).[189] The range of surfaces that were coloured, from walls to pulpits, as here recorded, and from organs to the insertion of new stained-glass windows (G. Parry 168-70; Yorke 60, 148), reveals a transformation of the sensuous experience both of English chapels and the High Church from the stark greys, blacks, and whites described by Joseph Hall previously. While Laudians could argue that these colours were merely reflections of the Old Testament tabernacle, for their opponents, these colours were visual evidence of a return to Catholicism.

Textual devaluations of the Church's colourscape were met with physical acts of decolouration. At the Cumberland Art Gallery at Hampton Court, there are fragments of green, blue, yellow, red, white, and black glass, which are described as "all that remains of the colourful stained glass that once adorned the East Window in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court".[190] The window, which did not contain biblical scenes, but rather those heraldic emblems deemed acceptable in the Reformed Church generally, was shattered in 1644 at the command of Oliver Cromwell. While in this occurrence the loss of colour could be connected to the royalist symbols of the windows, there are several instances recorded that reveal colour as the *sole* target of condemnation in this period of national unrest; a reality that is testament to an exponential mistrust of colour and its perceived affiliation with both the Catholic and Laudian Churches. As acting Royal Chaplain between 1639 and 1644, Bruno Ryves published a total of twenty-one issues of his collection, *Angliae Ruina or Mercurius Rusticus* (1646), in

[189] A chapel at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire was decorated with carpet of blue silk with gold embroidery, and blue cloths were added to the interior for Sunday worship (G. Parry 40).

[190] This was an inscription that accompanied the display of the glass fragments at the Cumberland Art Gallery. Visited 24.03.17.

aid of the royalist war effort.[191] Especially noteworthy is his account of a retaliation against the ecclesiastical locale:

> they throw down the Organs, and breake the Stories of the Old and New Testament, curiously cut out in carved work, *beautified with Colours*, and set round about the top of the Stalls of the Quire: from hence they turne to the Monuments of the dead, some they utterly demolish, others they deface. They begin with Bishop Fox his Chappell, which they utterly deface, they break all the glasse Windows of this Chappel, *not because they had any Pictures in them*, either of Patriarch, Prophet, Apostle or Saint, *but because they were of painted coloured-glasse*. (230; emphasis added)

Ryves conceives of colours in a distinctly Laudian way. The colours "beautified" the objects they were applied to, a description that resonates with the ecclesiological doctrine of the "beauty of holiness". Certainly, his attention to the fate of the stained glass is markedly Laudian, but it is also telling of the climate of the English Civil War. The mob described by Ryves destroys what they perceive to be idolatrous images, as they "breake" depictions from the Bible that were carved and coloured. However, colour is isolated as reason enough for destructive activity as the stained-glass windows are smashed, not because of "Pictures," but "because . . . they were coloured".[192] During and succeeding the Civil War, colour was not only a victim of material devastation, colour was singled out as idolatrous. Certainly, Julie Spraggon observes that "Churchwardens at St Edmund's in Salisbury had to replace a new pulpit cloth in 1653 because 'the Color is offensive in the sight of some of the parish'" (125). Unfortunately,

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[191] Joad Raymond, 'Ryves, Bruno (*c.*1596–1677)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008.

[192] Another example of glass decolouration predated this; in 1635, Gabriel Clarke, Archdeacon of Durham, commanded that the colourful stained-glass windows in Stanhope Chapel be removed and re-glazed with white glass (Yorke 106).

what the inappropriate or "ungodly" colour was is not recorded in the early modern account (125), but this example does suggest a heightened chromatic conscience within the Reformed Church. Indeed, this conscience reverberates beyond literature strictly concerned with ecclesiological concerns. In John Bate's practical guide of experiments, *The Mysteries of Art and Nature* (1654), he provides a section of how to "Lay black and white Lead for the wals of Churches" (150). By the mid-seventeenth century, colours that had re-entered the Church interior during the 1620s and 1630s had been evacuated as the colour palette contracted once again to muted tones.

An Unstable Palette

In early modern English literature, colour is presented as a medium of theological significance. Colour, as with the image, was not something that the Church was passive about. Textual accounts have revealed that many early moderns believed colour was one of the ways through which God revealed himself to humankind, as the colours of nature acted as signatures of the creator's influence, and salvation – the central tenet of the Church's doctrine – was described in Scripture using a material colour-transformation, akin to the dyeing process. While the Bible gave colour meaning, the Church's relationship with colour was complicated by the crisis of representation engendered by the Reformation. In a culture with an impetus to colour, colouring for a living and colouring for pleasure, the Church struggled to define how it should use colour. Literature including homilies, drama, and religious polemic all provide evidence of colour's significance in the Reformed Church's theology of materiality. Although nature's colours were believed to point towards the Creator, the Reformed Church was reticent to draw on an extensive colour palette because of how individuals in early modern England connected with colour. English men and women, as textual accounts detail, had prior connections with the colourific identity of the Catholic Church. Moreover, the Reformed Church in England feared that connections with colour inspired idolatrous responses, whether one worshipped an object

because of the colour applied, or worshipped an inanimate thing because its hues created a seductive verisimilitude. While there were underlying colour concerns, these were not always shared.

Different factions of the Reformed Church in England presented their responses to colour in literature, using the textual medium to determine and justify the English Church's colourscape. While colour was significant to the Church, colours were religiously charged from the 1620s to the 1650s, as records expose heightened physical and textual reactions to colour in the church building. In the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, extant documents present an image of a dichromatic Church, with a palette of black and white. However, in the 1620s and 1630s, the established Church in England, under the influence of Archbishop Laud, sought to reclaim more of the colour spectrum for the place of worship. To alter the English Church's theology of materiality, the Laudian faction were required to alter the prevailing narrative of colour as idolatrous, pre-Reformed, and overriding Scripture. As such, Laudian discourse and those, like George Herbert, who empathised with the consecration of the Church, rearticulated in writing how colour connects with Scripture and how colour impacts on worshippers. As the Laudian faction of the Church made the case for more colour, the political current in the 1640s and 1650s created a climate in which the Puritanical section of English society was able to challenge the reformulated colourscape of the established Church. As they responded to the chromatic impulse of Laudianism, both in print and by vehemently removing colour from the Church, English Puritans are revealed to have developed a chromatic conscience, instigated by the Reformation, but heightened by the colourific impulse of the 1620s and 1630s.

As these stark chromatic changes emphasise, the Church gave meaning to the colour palette, but this meaning was by no means stable in early modern England. For example, the term "gaudy" or "gaudie" is used by both Philip Stubbes and R.T. but applied to completely

different colours. For Stubbes, gaudy means polychromatic; whereas, for R.T., gaudy defines the dichromatic palette of black and white that Stubbes advocates. As the tinctures of religious experience fluctuated during the period, what remains constant is a colour debate. As the Reformed Church in England struggled to situate colour, preoccupied with which colours were suitable, the ensuing chapter explores how early modern England grappled with its colour situation, discontent with the chromatic offerings of its landscape.

Chapter Four: The Hue of the New

Published in *Hesperides* in 1648, Robert Herrick's poem, "*A Country Life: To His Brother, M.* Tho: Herrick," proposes that it is possible to gain insight into a country's essence through its colouration:

> Nor are thy daily and devout affaires
>
> Attended with those desp'rate cares,
>
> Th' industrious merchant has; who for to find
>
> Gold, runneth to the Western Inde,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But thou at home, blest with securest ease,
>
> Sitt'st, and beleev'st that there be seas,
>
> And watrie dangers; while thy whiter hap,
>
> But sees these things within thy Map.
>
> And viewing them with a more safe survey,
>
> Mak'st easie Feare unto thee say,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But thou at home, without or tyde or gale,
>
> Canst in thy Map securely saile:
>
> Seeing those painted Countries; and so guesse
>
> By those fine Shades, their Substances:
>
> And from thy Compasse taking small advice,
>
> Buy'st Travell at the lowest price.
>
> Nor are thine eares so deafe, but thou canst heare,
>
> (Far more with wonder, then with feare)
>
> Fame tell of States, of Countries, Courts, and Kings;

And beleeve there be such things:

When of these truths, thy happyer knowledge lyes,

More in thine eares, then in thine eyes. (63-66, 69-74, 77-88)

In this excerpt from his poem, Herrick draws upon travel both real and imagined, and he reminds us that the New World was a place believed to be full of colour, of "Gold" and the promise of prosperity. However, Herrick's material attentiveness to colour is not limited to this treasured commodity. For those who stayed "at home," the poet-speaker says it is the colour presented on a map – the "painted countries" and "fine shades" – that enables an understanding of the "substances" beyond England. His descriptions propose that countries are defined by their colouration as he makes a connection between place and colour, and between individual nations and colour. Although this poem is firmly seated in the domestic sphere, concentrating on those based on English shores, its content gestures to those who ventured to foreign lands, including merchants and cartographers. This section of Herrick's poem also provides an explicit warning as the speaker describes the rift in knowledge that exists between those who saw distant places first-hand, and those individuals who relied on accounts of foreign lands – those who gathered "More in thine eares" than the "eyes". Herrick's poem reminds its reader that people who travelled were privileged with first-hand experience of travel and equally privileged with how this was shared. Those who travelled wielded the paintbrush to paint, and took up the quill to share their stories, and they could add or remove colour as they saw fit, leaving others to merely "guesse" by "those fine Shades," a country's "Substances".

In existing scholarship, investigations into early modern England's engagement with colour and foreign ecologies have tended to contemplate the economics of trading colourants or, prompted by postcolonial theory, have explored the connections between travel, capitalism,

empire, and race (Youngs 9).[193] This chapter extends the existing colour spectrum of alterity beyond the black and white discourse of racial difference, widening the current focus on colour to encompass the range of shades that were becoming increasingly visually apparent in the period. As a result of exploration, the sensory landscape of early modern Europe underwent profound change during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a change that Jerry Brotton describes as "a transformation of the texture of everyday life," brought about by the "revision of the European geographical imagination" (*The Renaissance* 107).[194] While Brotton's term "texture" implies a tactile change, the transformation also encompassed the visual landscape, and more specifically, the colourscape of Europe. Colours were being met for the first time, imported into Europe from the East and places such as Persia, China, and Turkey and new daubs of colour were being added to national colour palettes, as "dyes like indigo, vermilion, lac" and "saffron" served to make Europe "a brighter place" (Brotton, *The Renaissance* 19, 10, 108). Indeed, in English society, colour was making a tangible, visual impact. England was benefiting from the colourants and coloured products of other countries, but it also sought to elevate its own chromatic offerings. By the 1580s, England's attention was firmly fixed on the colour potentiality of the New World, and this chapter contextualises that the colour capacity of the American landscape was frequently advanced as justification for English exploration of the New World.

As this chapter explores how the colourscape of the New World impacted upon English travellers and English society more generally, it journeys from the literature of first-hand travel

[193] For studies that focus on the impact of economics on colour's availability and usage, see Kirby, Nash, and Cannon; Brunello; Feeser, Daly, and Tobin; Tittler; Chenciner; Klein and Spary; and Greenfield. On colour and race, see, K. Hall; Poitevin; and Deroux.

[194] Much scholarship has focused on the expansion of Europe's material culture because of exploration, including, Riello; King 115; and Peck.

to second-hand accounts of foreign ecologies. By doing so, this chapter recognises that the colourscape of the New World was one that was seen, but also one that was merely imagined by early modern writers. Because travel writing has been exposed as a textual construction, analogous to fiction, it is essential, as Tim Youngs outlines, to "view travel narratives internally, intertextually and contextually" (13). This awareness informs the trajectory of my chapter, which studies travel writings in context and considers their impact on literature that represents novel landscapes. Initially, this chapter considers the material conditions of early modern England, with special attention to the cloth industry, which as chapters one and two illuminated, was central to early modern English society (Thirsk 2). This section investigates the existence of an English colour palette, and an underlying desire to widen its chromatic offerings; a desire that informed English domestic, foreign, and colonial policy in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As England grappled with its chromatic shortcomings, it recognised that, as Elena Phipps has observed, "dyestuffs" were "the basis of the colonial economy of the New World" (122).

As Herrick's poem demonstrates, there were those observing the activity of other places from afar, but there were also those who actively sought the sensational experience of foreign ecologies for themselves.[195] In this chapter, I attend to the discourse of discovery provided in travel accounts of those who voyaged to the Americas, as the English attempted to translate the New World via their linguistic resources, cultural predispositions, and mercantile expectations.[196] While there have been recent discussions on the indefiniteness of what constitutes as "travel writing," in the same strain as Tim Youngs, I have foregrounded travel

[195] This sensory familiarity with the New World has been salient in several recent studies. For instance, see Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 70-96; and Hoffer.

[196] There have been several recent studies that focus on linguistic and cultural translation. For in-depth analyses, see Cronin; and Polezzi.

accounts that deal in first-hand observations (Youngs 3). As those English men and women travelled, they acted as interpreters for the English nation and their accounts of the New World often draw on colour as they attempt to share something of its novel sights to an English readership. This chapter concludes with a discussion of literary texts, including poetic formulations of the New World by Michael Drayton and Andrew Marvell, an unfinished novel by Francis Bacon, Viscount of St Alban, as well as dramatic examples from William Shakespeare. Like David McInnis' study, *Mind and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (2013), I propose that the travel account acts as a stimulus for readers and writers, impressing upon their imagination conceptions of the New World (35). What I bring to the argument is how the stimulus of colour provided by travel accounts affected the creative representation of novel settings in early modern English literature. Thus, this chapter attends to the explicit connections forged between colour and place and between colour and travel in early modern literature, and to how colour, beyond racial considerations, is used across a range of generic forms as a mark of cultural and geographical alterity. As this chapter travels from first-hand reports of the New World to how its landscape was envisaged, it exposes the impact of novel hues on early modern English writers, whether these were "Shades" seen, or merely "painted" by others.

"London blue" and "orient dies"

In early modern England and beyond, the world was spatially conceived in terms of colour. Maps, as Herrick's poet-speaker articulated, used visual tools such as shapes and patterns, but also careful colour-coding to demarcate the separation between sea and land (Vaughan, "Preface" 12; Quinn, *Explorers* 47).[197] It is in Richard Eden's translation of Martin Cortés' *Breve Compendio de la Sphaera y de la Arte de Navigar*, otherwise known as *The Arte of*

[197] For extensive detail on the process of colouring maps, see Woodward.

Navigation (1561), that the colourful potential of early modern maps is realised. In this extract from *The Arte*, the instructions included for the watercolour artist meticulously stipulate the colours to be used and where these are to be applied:

> And first you must describe in red, the ports, the principal capes, famous cities, with other notable things, and all the residue in black. Then shall you draw or paint . . . cities, ships, banners and beasts . . . Then with colours and gold shall you garnish and beautify the cities, compasses, ships . . . Then shall you set forth the coasts with green, by the shore or banks of the land, and make them fair to sight with a little saffron. (qtd. in Quinn, *Explorers* 50)

Here, as in Herrick's poem, it is the colouration of maps that provides the primary source of knowledge for the viewer, and this pedagogic feature is embedded in the language. Red, for example, is here depicted as a means of description. While maps were practical items to be used by those who embarked on voyages, they did not always venture outside of England, instead providing a form of domestic and stately decoration, used to beautify interiors. Henry VIII decorated the Palace of Westminster with maps, and as well as being presented with a painted Atlas, Elizabeth I used topographical details as décor, as Sebastian Cabot's map graced the privy gallery in Whitehall (Quinn, *Explorers* 62-63). This royal trend seeped down the social stratum and Queen Elizabeth's adviser, John Dee, records in 1570 that some of his contemporaries used maps to "'beautifie their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galeries, Studies, or Libraries"' (Howard A12). The adjective, "beautifie," implies that maps provided a backdrop for the home that brought colour in a similar way to wall hangings and tapestries (James 244). Although Bernhard Klein believes Dee's assessment to be "misleading," for maps were "prized possessions" but so expensive that "few contemporaries could actually afford them" in the sixteenth century (61), there is evidence of maps finding their way into books, curiosity cabinets, and even onto the back of playing cards (Gillies 21-22). As an increasingly domestic

item, maps were the visual foundation of how people understood the world around them, and there are textual indications that early moderns made this correlation between colour and cartographic space. Robert Herrick's conception of "painted countries" is almost perfectly paralleled by the traveller and writer Fynes Moryson, who describes maps as "Painted Worlds" in his *Itinerary* (7), published in 1617.[198] Similarly, Shakespeare's *Richard II* (*c.* 1595) draws on a jewellery metaphor to describe England as a "precious stone set in the silver sea" (2.1.43), implying that the playwright conceived of the nation's position via colour, just as a map does.

Though cartographic space was cogitated in terms of its colourfulness, the connection between topography and colour was a direct consequence of locating colours. When Edward Phillips included the blue colourants of indigo and ultramarine in his dictionary, *The New World of English Words* (1658), he defined them specifically in terms of their origin. "Indico," he writes (using the seventeenth-century term for indigo), is so-named "because it is brought out of *India*" and ultramarine because it comes from "beyond the Seas" (Schweppe 81, 82; Harley 3; E. Phillips Vr).[199] The world, as Phillips and his contemporaries understood, offered up colourants, and these colourants had their own unique habitats. In early modern Europe, access to colour was geographically determined and as Phillip Ball so aptly describes it, people were "at the mercy of geography," and this mercy included not only a colour's "availability," but also the "quality" of colours, which "varied from region to region" (137-38).[200] With their distinctive provenances, colours were flaunted in early modern England as demonstrations of

[198] All quotations from Moryson's *Itinerary* within this chapter are sourced from Book One, Part Three, and Chapter Eleven.

[199] On ultramarine's etymology, consult Finlay 353; and Bucklow 44.

[200] The contingent relationship between place and colour would this be regimented until the nineteenth century and the technological revolution brought about by Sir William Perkins's creation of mauve, On the astounding impact of mauve's discovery in shaping our present-day experience of colour, see Garfield.

foreign travel or as a sign of access to foreign lands. In an account of England from 1599 left by the Swiss traveller, Thomas Platter, he records the collection of a Mr Cope in London, who had "spent much time in the Indies" and had decorated his apartment with mementoes of his travels, which included "Beautiful Indian plumes" and "Two beautifully dyed Indian sheepskins" (33-35). While colourful stuff was the reward of the traveller, colour was also considered a side-effect of travel, as dramatized in Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (1600). Andelocia expects his father, Fortunatus, to arrive home from his travels "like . . . a painted Parrat stucke full of outlandish feathers" (2.2.26). This association between travelling and gleaning colour was even embedded in language. This is evident in the following extract from Robert Lewes's *Mappe of Commerce* (1638), an atlas detailing the world's imports and exports:

> . . . and because this last mentioned, parts *America* as last discovered, is least known unto us, and the least frequented by our Nation; I thinke it not improper there to begin to delineate my MAP OF COMMERCE . . . and thence sailing homewards by Africa and Asia into Europe, gathering in each Countrey as I passe more variety of colours to adorne and beautifie this Treatise. (53)

As he describes travel between different countries, Lewes presents colour as a means of clarification, but also as a physical entity that is to be gathered from each region for an aestheticizing purpose, namely, to "adorne" and "beautifie".[201] While this chromatic change is depicted figuratively in relation to his treatise, the implication of acquiring material colour is

[201] There were some who viewed colour as symptomatic both of the corrupting effects of travel and of the morality of the explorer. Robert Dallington writes of what he views as the "hazards of *Travell*" in *A Method for Travell* (1605). Here, he includes the possibility of a traveller who "bringeth home a leprous soule, and a *tainted* body" (Bv; emphasis added), and Shakespeare's Falstaff refers to being "stained with travel" (*2 Henry IV* 5.5.22).

also evident. It is apparent that in early modern England, individuals perceived that travel physically coloured the individual and his or her environment.

The importance of travel, exploration, and trade across early modern Europe meant that exotic natural colourants, and the objects they were applied to, were embarking on journeys, and as they travelled and settled, they visually altered their new environments. England's colourscape continually evolved as a result, and as Evelyn Welch observes, a vast array of colourful items – spices, fabric, dyes, "colourful feathers" and porcelain – because increasingly available across early modern Europe (62), and indeed, increasingly identifiable. Shepherd in Ben Jonson's pastoral masque, *Pan's Anniversary* (1620), describes the altar's chromatics as "the colours China" (5: 40), a phrasing that suggests a familiarity with the visual qualities of Eastern porcelain was such that to utter the colour was to recall the object in the audience's minds.

The influx of colours into early modern England could be identified as foreign and exotic because there were colours that were promoted and considered as indigenous by its inhabitants, and by its gazing neighbours. Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), a play embedded with nationalistic discourse, includes the English King's rhetorically suggestive phrase of "native colours" (1.2.17). As the phrase connotes the presentation of an authentic self, it also invokes the existence of an English colour palette. According to Thomas Platter, England's identification as *Albion* is a direct reflection of its colouration. He explains that England was named "Albion or Albania, which is in German 'white land,'" because "along the coast towards the Orient there were many white chalky hills or rocks" (43).[202] While its nomenclature echoed its colouration, a nation's colourants were of immense importance across early modern Europe.

[202] Abraham Cowley's poem, "The injoyment" uses the whiteness of England in his blazon: "Thou like fair Albion, to the Sailors Sight / Spreading her beauteous Bosom all in White" (68-69).

England produced natural colourants, including red and yellow ochres (Kirby 341), and there were other colourants that were intricately connected with England's identity in the early modern period.[203] In his *Description of England* (1577), the historian William Harrison foregrounds saffron, an organic plant material of a yellow hue, as native to England.[204] Harrison believes that England's yellow is superior for its taste, smell, colour, and fastness: "As the saffron of England," he maintains, "in sweetness, tincture, and continuance . . . surmounteth all the rest" (348).[205] Saffron was so plentiful in the English town of Chipping Walden that it merited a name change to "Saffron Walden," appropriating Saffron growing as its formally recognised identity (Finlay 252). As well as saffron, there were several greens that were intimately connected to English towns in this period and to the English dyeing industry. In Michael Drayton's "The Ninth Eglogue" from *Pastorals*, the poet-speaker describes the appearance of a Daffodil "in a Frocke of Lincolne greene" (89), and this particular shade of green is also mentioned in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596), "All in a woodmans jacket he was clad / of lincolne greene" (371). In addition to Lincoln green, Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV* notes "Kendal green" on two occasions in Act 2 Scene 4, suggesting that this was a shade distinguished by theatre audiences as regionally and nationally significant to England.

The dyeing trade provides further substantiation of those colours immediately accessible to the English in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recorded in extant

[203] Richard Hakluyt the Elder wrote in his "Certaine Other Most Profitable and Wise Instructions" (1582), "yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here" (236).

[204] Indeed, Richard Hakluyt the Elder claims English ownership when he writes in 1582 of "our Saffron" in his "Briefe Remembrance of Things" (230).

[205] See also John Florio's *First Fruites* (1578), where he states that England produced the "best Safron that is in the worlde" (D3r).

wills are a "gown of puke that came from London" and a "London tawney gown" (qtd. in James 270), and in Surrey probate inventories, "One Cloake London dye" kept in William Kytchiner's parlour is recorded on the 16th May 1586 (Herridge 217). Granting that there is no reference to a specific colour, Philip Massinger's play, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (*c.* 1625), offers the expression of "*London*-blew" (I2r). It is most likely that Kytchiner's cloak would have been tinted with woad, the production of which was based in London. This dyestuff was interwoven with England's national identity; Camden had chronicled the ancient Britons painting their bodies with the substance. He even believed that the nomenclature of 'Britain' was formed as a direct result of this colouring: "What if I should conjecture", writes Camden, "that they were called Britains of their depainted bodies? For, that word *Brith* among the Britans, implieth that which the Britans were indeed, to wit, *painted, depainted, died,* and *coloured*" (qtd. in Barbour 146).[206] While of ancient origins, according to Camden, blue remained significant as a national colour. Thomas Platter observed blue as an innate physical trait of English women, "who have mostly blue-grey eyes," but he also recognised blue as a national trend, recording that the English "lay great store by ruffs and starch them blue, so that their complexion shall appear the whiter" (45).

Whereas Philip Stubbes had rebuked English society's partiality towards colourful clothing in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, viewing such garments as external evidence of interior vice – as outlined in chapter three – William Harrison's *Description of England* bewails what he regards as the negative effect of imported colourants, and importing coloured fabrics, on both English morality and national identity. Once, according to Harrison, the English were readily identified by the material and colour of their clothing:

[206] For more primary sources that connect blue with England's national narrative, see Harrison 437.

> Neither was it ever merrier with England than when an Englishman was known abroad by his own cloth and contented himself at home with his fine kersey hosen and a mean slop, his coat, gown, and cloak of brown-blue or puke, with some pretty furniture of velvet or fur, and a doublet of sad tawny or black velvet or other comely silk, without such cuts and garish colors as are worn in these days and never brought in but by the consent of the French, who think themselves the gayest men when they have most diversities of jags and change of colors about them. (148)

Blues, "puke," blacks and tawny – these "sad" shades set the English apart. However, by its undressing of its homegrown colours and donning of those hues typically identified with other nations, England's identity is blurred and faded. Saturated with French tastes, the colours worn by English men and women are bolder and more diverse than English-grown colourants can offer, and therefore, according to Harrison, they appear markedly foreign. Harrison compares England to a "chameleon," as a nation adjusting its colouration to emulate those shown by its continental neighbours, and he regards this chromatic modification as a matter of national shame, for which "most nations do, not unjustly, deride us" (147).[207] Even if Harrison was not himself a fan of England's ever-widening colour palette, his writings trace the taste for colour and colourful garments that was developing from the latter half of the sixteenth century. This desire for colour made the clothing market more competitive, as new hues were marketed to satisfy consumer demand. Harrison writes of "hues devised for the nonce wherewith to please fantastical heads"; hues identified as "gooseturd green, pease-porridge tawny, popinjay blue,

[207] Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) suggests that this "chameleon" dressing was well-known and satirised, as protagonist Jack Wilton remarks: "At my first coming to Rome, I, being a youth of the English cut, ware my hair long, went apparelled in light colours, and imitated four or five sundry nations in my attire at once" (326). See Jones and Stallybrass for the assimilation of foreign clothing 49-50.

lusty gallant" and "the-devil-in-the-head". The last colour Harrison lists has been deliberately presented to emphasise that he views England's chromatic demand as a symptom of moral corruption; for Harrison corrects his expression of "devil-in-the-head" in parenthesis to "(I should say "the hedge")" (148).[208] The social desire for colour then, for Harrison, is nationally and morally depleting. Despite Harrison's personal protestations against novel hues, a national regard for colour remained, and as late as 1630, there is correspondence from Edward Heynes and William Gibson to the East India Company, outlining the overwhelming demand for "stammells, red, popinjay, French and grass greens, yellows, straw colour, sky colour, lemon, and pink, and some Venice reds, blues, violets, and tawneys" ("East Indies: September 1630").

Early modern England was cognisant of the fortunes of other countries in securing material gains from exploration and colonisation. As well as tobacco and copper, colourants were considered significant acquisitions; significant because across early modern Europe, the production of well-dyed textiles was considered a national achievement and contributed to a country's economic stability.[209] In her study, *Economic Policy and Projects* (1978), Joan Thirsk emphasises that the growing of woad, madder, and weld for the procurement of dyes was at the "very heart of the national economy" in early modern England (7), and certainly, Harrison maintains that "madder have been (next to our tin and wools) the chief commodities and merchandise of this realm" (437).[210] Woad and madder were so central to the economy, in fact, that the English, fearing their overcultivation of land for these colourants (Costaras 403),

[208] He blames women specifically for kindling the social desire for colour, writing that in them "All kind of curiosity is to be found and seen" (148).

[209] In relation to the acquisition of tobacco, see Knapp; and Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 73.

[210] Woad growing especially was considered a vital means of improving the English economy from 1559 onwards (Thirsk 28-29).

used Ireland as a base for madder and woad production, and imported woad from France.[211] For England in the late sixteenth century, the frustration of possessing limited colourants of an inferior quality was heightened by the knowledge that, as a nation, it produced an unsurpassable quality of wool. This outstanding base product was of little advantage if English dyers were unable to saturate this fabric with the brightest and boldest hues. As early as 1549, Sir Thomas Smith outlined in his *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* the draining impact of England's inability to dye their wool and broad cloths effectively. Both fabrics were being purchased by foreign nations, dyed "beyond the seas," especially in Antwerp, and then sold back to the English as finished products at a significant profit margin (qtd. in Thirsk 16; Payne 14; Greenfield 161). The foreign monopoly on dyed goods had significant economic repercussions for England, for as chapter one highlighted, the nation was dependent on the dyeing industry and whole towns relied on their output of colourful products. Coventry, for example, had been renowned for its blue thread and its people were invested so heavily in its production that when blue threads were imported from abroad, "that trade of Coventry is decayed and thereby the town likewise" (qtd. in Thirsk 17). In the sixteenth century, England was struggling to keep up with the consumer demand for their native colourants, never mind the growing demand for more exotic hues.

One response to the colourant situation was Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586), which negotiates at once the offerings and inadequacies of early modern England's colour palette, situating this within an international canvas. This excerpt from Whitney's verses, entitled '*In Colores*', is palpably defensive in tone:

[211] Regarding these alternative locations for woad and madder cultivation, see Thirsk 29, 56, 75-6; Jehlen and Warner 58; Kirby 342. William Harrison contemplates the ineptitude of English soil for the growing of Woad and Madder in his *Description*, 437.

But say we lacke, their herbes, their wormes, their flies,

And want the meanes: their gallant hues to frame.

Yet England, hath her store of orient dies,

And eeke therein a DYER most of fame,

Who, always hath so fine, and freshe, a hewe,

That in their landes, the like is not to vewe. (135)

England is carefully positioned against the other, the "their" in this passage, which stands in for all other nations. In comparison to these nations, Whitney understands his native country's limitations – they "lacke, their herbes, their wormes, their flies". England lacks the natural colour sources, the minerals, vegetables, and animals of other nations, unable to produce their "gallant hues," their colours that are "showy" or "fashionable".[212] But Whitney is also careful to alter the perception of England's chromatic shortcomings as he writes of "her store of orient dies". By using the term "orient," which pertains both to resources from the East and to objects of "superior value," Whitney overturns the narrative, concluding that England's native colours are equally as exotic and valuable to other countries as those of foreign nations are to the English. Whereas Whitney could discursively alter England's colour narrative, in reality the English struggled with their own colour limitations.

Given the importance of colourants to England's economic state and worldwide reputation, from as early as 1578, precedence was given to gleaning both colourants and colour knowledge from around the globe.[213] The most vocal advocate for this cause was Richard

[212] "gallant, adj. and n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 11 September 2017.

[213] Richard Hakluyt the Elder had written of the importance of colourants in his "Purposes and Policies" (1578), remarking that to find natural sources of colour was to "win a notable thing for our state of clothing" (18), while

Hakluyt the Younger, a clergyman and translator. In his *Principal Navigations* (1600), a compilation of English documents of travel, he printed an epistle penned by his cousin, Richard Hakluyt the Elder, in 1582; a letter that showed an awareness that the success of the English clothing industry hinged specifically on their textiles' chromatic quality (232-33).[214] Particularly painful for the English was that in comparison with Spain, they were significantly behind in gathering colour reserves. Spain had visibly acquired the most valuable colourants from across the world, a situation summarised by Edward Waterhouse in 1622:

> For the greatest part of their gaine and profit I say consists . . . in their other commodities, partly native, and partly translated from other parts of the world, and planted in the *West Indies*: As in their mighty wealth of Sugars . . . Cochanile, their Indico, their Cotton, . . . their Quick-silver, and Allom, Woad, and Brasillwood, & c. And their many other Dyes, Paints . . . and many other physical drugs. (145)

Waterhouse accentuates that Spain had accumulated vast wealth through their explorative efforts, and as he lists cochineal, indigo, woad, and brazilwood, Waterhouse implies that colourants are tremendously valuable acquisitions. Particularly aggravating for the English, however, was Spain's control of trade from the New World, which by the 1580s was familiar territory to many nations, including Spain, Portugal, and France, but remained largely unknown to the English. Spain's chromatic advantages did not go unnoticed. Their colour gains are expressed through the language of travel accounts of the New World, as one writer argued that the King of Spain "hath no more title nor collour of title to this place" and referred to the

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in 1579, he sent the dyer, Morgan Hubblethorne, to Persia to learn the native practices of silk and carpet dyeing, to carry home the blue colourant, anil, and to bring home native dyers who could share their trade secrets with English dyers (Jones and Stallybrass 52).

[214] There are two editions of *The Principal Navigations*. The second, expanded edition is used in this thesis, which was published in three volumes from 1598-1600. The first edition was published in 1589.

Americas as "his golden Indies" (Strachey 3,4). Linguistic expression was accompanied by physical action, for such was Spain's renown for monopolising the most cherished of colourants that the English often carried out acts of piracy on Spanish vessels.[215] As they could see how the New World brought affluence to Spain, it was to the Americas that the English turned their attention to fulfil their desire for colour.

In 1585, Richard Hakluyt the Younger outlined what he believed to be the "Reasons for colonisation," within which colour is a significant subject. In point 31, Hakluyt highlights the New World's chromatic bounty, and prioritises those colourants considered most valuable in early modern England, relaying its "divers commodities for dyers, as anil and cochineal, and sundry other colours and materials" (30). One of these other colours was woad. While woad was already cultivated in England, Hakluyt accentuates the economic benefits of furthering English woad production. "Woad by the seeds you may have," he observes, "for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied". Hakluyt saw the New World, not merely as a place to glean colourants from, but also as a potential site of English colour production: "having soil and labour in Virginia cheap, and the woad in great value, lying in small room, it will be a trade of great gain to this clothing realm, and the thing cannot be destroyed by savages" (33). Hakluyt's rationale is persuasive and responsive, given the issues with woad cultivation at the time and that the nation was already using other countries as sites for growing colourants. Such issues, Hakluyt is careful to stress, could be overturned by the colonisation of America. The economic viability is repeated ("cheap," "great value," and "great gain") and

[215] William Strachey foregrounds the Spanish acquisition of "scuchinella" or cochineal, a red colourant of immense popularity in the early modern period for providing the brightest and most enduring red clothing (88). Amy Butler Greenfield has highlighted the vulnerability of any Spanish ship carrying this coveted red dyestuff, and that John Donne himself bore witness to cochineal piracy (150, 145). In terms of value, cochineal was second only to silver in the New Spain exports (J. Parry 3).

carefully connected to England's cloth industry, while the problem of cultivating space is tackled directly by the comparative expanse of the New World, where woad lodgings would take up "small room". The importance Hakluyt places on colour as both a stimulus and justification for New World exploration and colonisation is intertwined with England's most important industry – its cloth trade. Given the numbers involved in the industry, especially in the dyeing process, as well as the chromatic backwardness of England at the time, Hakluyt's argument is nationally cogent. As the English engaged in New World exploration, the imperative placed on their voyagers to source colourants had a direct impact on how they translated the colours they saw.

Translating Colour

An attentiveness to colour is especially prevalent in the most widely-read travel publication of the period, Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). This account was first published as a quarto in 1588 and was reprinted in four languages in 1590 in Theodor's de Bry's *America* (Youngs 32; Fuller 40; Hulton and Quinn 24, 26). Harriot's *Report,* an account of his travels to Virginia, provided its readers with a guide to first-hand experience of the New World environment; a guide who claims to have "seene and knowne more than the ordinarie" (5). As an individual faced with the challenge of describing the New World's novel sights, Harriot turns to colour as a point of commonality and a measure of difference. Colour for Harriot, as for other travel writers, is something to be translated in both senses of the term. Colour is a foreign language of the New World, which needs to be translated using English understandings of colour; but colour is also to be translated, moved from the American landscape and amalgamated into English society.[216]

[216] "translation, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2018. Web. 3 May 2018. Def. 2a, 1a.

As he recounts the Medlar fruit, Harriot uses the colour of cherries as aid to comparison as he observes, "in taste and colour they are farre differèt: for they are as red as cherries and very sweet" (18). Colour is a means via which Harriot connects with the New World landscape, and how he believes he can connect with his imagined readers. Harriot's attentiveness to colour is symptomatic of other travel narratives that circulated in early modern England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in which colour is repeatedly involved in the experiential grasping of the New World environment. In his 1584 account, Captain Arthur Barlowe describes the Virginian natives as "of colour yellowish" (102), an adjectival expression that bears the undertones of indistinctness.[217] Likewise John Brereton's 1602 account observes how the native Indians "cover their privy parts with a black tewed skin, much like a blacksmith's apron" (139), while the tattoos of the indigenous Virginian women are reimagined by both William Strachey and John Smith as a form of embroidery ("imbordered"), conceiving of tattoos as colours marked into the skin, like coloured threads into fabric (Strachey 217; J. Smith 30).[218] Faced with a foreign ecology, these writers use colour to anchor the New World in recognisably English contexts; for the cherry, the blacksmith, and the act of embroidery are all acquaintances of the early modern English. Indeed, George Percy makes this cultural refraction of colour explicit, as he connects the New World landscape with that of England, describing the terrain as "all flowing over with fair flowers of sundry colours and kinds, all though it had been in any garden or orchard in England" (167). What these descriptions reveal is the usefulness of colour in providing an account of geographical otherness, as the travel writer uses colour simultaneously to appeal to the reader's prior experiences and to create a sense of visual novelty. The comparisons used fall short of reality,

[217] Similar chromatic ambiguity is found in Percy's account from 1607, 165, and Ralegh's *Discoverie* 141, 146.

[218] For more on the early modern Englishman's observations and understandings of tattoos, see Fleming's chapter, "Tattoo" in *Graffiti* 79-112.

merely presenting hues that are "like" but not exacting, perpetuating the wonder and inexplicability of the New World's colours.

The language in Harriot's *Report*, and those travel accounts that followed, suggests individuals attempting to grasp and convey the visual reality of the New World. However, their descriptions are coloured by more than the visual qualities of the landscape. Because journeys to the New World were merchant-sponsored, travellers were expected to seek out all possible sources of financial gain to be made from colonisation and to record and to convey these sources to their funders (Helgerson 171). Indeed, English colonists were actively encouraged to maintain contact with merchants at home, as Fynes Moryson outlines in the section of his *Itinerary* titled, "*Precepts for Travellers, which may instruct the unexperienced*" (11, 13). The economic pressure placed on travellers to seek out colourants and to discover new colourants in colonialist polemics clearly resonated with those who ventured abroad; for repeatedly, explorers prioritise the description of dyestuffs, detailing their plant, animal, or mineral sources, as well as their application by the native Indians. This priority of intent is evinced from an extant map illustrating Raleigh's Virginia (1585). The map is organised by colour, carefully demarcated with labels to show where colourants are situated. It states solely over one piece of the land, "here groith ye roots that diethe read," conjectured by David Quinn to be Dogwood, or *Cornus Florida*, a red colourant that is still grown to this day at Cape Hatteras (Quinn, "Sketch-map" 215-6). The American landscape is visually as well as textually identified as a source of colour, cognitively altering how individuals who viewed it would have connected with the New World.

That such visual and textual media had a direct influence on travellers to the New World is perceptible in Harriot's *Report*. Here, Harriot reinforces those colonialist ambitions regarding colour that had been presented by Richard Hakluyt the Younger. His language implies that he actively attempted to glean local colour knowledge as a means of reinforcing

the merchantable potential of Virginia's colour resources.[219] Harriot's conscious effort to learn colour terms also provides readers with a record of the native colour lexicon, a colour translation that would allow future travellers to continue to explore the New World's colour resources. Harriot highlights the terms for three dyestuffs with which the English were unacquainted: "the seede of an hearbe called *Wasewówr*: little small rootes called *Cháppacor*; and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitaunts *Tangomóckonomindge*: which Dies are for divers sortes of red" (11).[220] While translating the language for colours was beneficial to future explorers, it is the translation of these colours into English culture that is prioritised in Thomas Harriot's account of the New World.

In the first section of the *Report*, entitled "Merchantable Commodities" (8), Harriot, like Hakluyt, responds to the colour concerns circulating in early modern England, including the inability to cultivate enough dyestuffs on English soil, the incredible expense of doing so, and the inability to produce clothing as colourfast or as colourful as that of other nations. As he addresses these English colour issues, Harriot's account implies that the New World's natural resources provide corresponding solutions to each shortcoming. Harriot lists woad, which he refers to as "Oade" and madder, within an explicitly English context, for he foregrounds their present value to the English, stating that they are "of so great vent" and "use,"

[219] Dugan, for example, writes of Harriot that "his description of Virginia is biased towards English mercantilism" (*The Ephemeral* 82).

[220] Harriot's knowledge of the Algonquian's colour language impacted on subsequent colonisers, as acknowledged in Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (1612), an account that also provides a dictionary of Powhatan with translations for black ("*mdhcatawainwh*"), purple ("*ourcrewh*"), white ("*opaivwh*"), yellow ("*oussawack*"), the rainbow ("*qwannacut*"), and the red dye, "pohcoons" ("*mataquiirun*" [184-96]). He even includes a term for "the gold sparkes in the sand" ("*Paskorath*" [192]). See also John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624), which includes a virtually verbatim description of these three red dyes 9, 70.

"amongst English Diers". But Harriot also highlights England's exigent relationship with these dyestuffs, "which cannot be yielded sufficiently in our owne country for spare of ground". By referring to the spatial problems posed by woad and madder growing in his contemporary England, Harriot offers the New World as a solution, perpetuating the expanse of the landscape: for they "may bee planted in Virginia, there being ground enough" (11). He also carefully posits England's ability to do a service for the New World's natural resources. Of the novel reds he states:

> . . . their goodnesse for our English clothes remayne yet to be proved. The inhabitants use them onely for the dying of hayre; and colouring of their faces, and Mantles made of Deare skinnes; and also for the dying of Rushes to make artificiall workes withal in their Mattes and Baskettes; having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not prove merchantable there is no doubt but the Planters there shall finde apte uses for them . . . (11)

Harriot brings to the fore the notion of untapped potential as he conjectures about the ability of the English, whether working as dyers at home or within a Virginian colony, to explore the full aptitude of the New World dyestuffs, something that he suggests the natives have failed to do.

As Harriot's commodity section presents the potential of the New World's landscape and colourants for the dyeing industry, Harriot's descriptions of the Virginian environment consistently accent its colour saturation and chromatic variety. "Pagatowr," what Harriot describes as a "kinde of graine" in his second book, is "of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew" (13). In a similar fashion, "Okindgier," or beans, are "of more divers colours" than those found in England (14). The *Report* gestures to the multifarious range of hues on offer as Harriot mentions "other colours which wee knowe to be there" (11), as well as "Dyes of divers kindes," reports which imply so much chromatic abundance and

variety that he could not capture them all in his account (8). This diversity of colour co-occurs with an emphasis on the superiority of the surrounding colours. Pearls show a "pideness of many excellent colours" (11), the grain "yeelde a very white and sweete flower," and the fruit, "METAQVESVNNAVK," is of a "perfect red colour as well within as without" (18). Harriot draws on similar superlatives throughout his account in relation to the colour of these novel surroundings.

This positive portrayal of New World colours is continued by travel writers well into the seventeenth century. For example, George Percy relates, "We also did see . . . divers other foul and birds of divers and sundry colours, of crimson, watchet, yellow, green, murrey, and of divers other hues naturally, without any art using" (166). Percy's perception of the bird colouration is incredibly specific, detailing hues more naturally found on a painter's palette, or fixed by a dyer to a cloth; the implication being that the multifarious hues created for use in England are readily seen in the New World landscape.[221] In an equal vein of marvelling at the material merits of New World colours, Francis Higginson concentrates on the colour-fast quality of the New World dyes in his *New England's Plantation* (1630), as he remarks of "divers Roots and Berries wherewith the *Indians* dye excellent holding colours that no raine nor washing can alter" (6). These are significantly pragmatic qualities for the English climate. As with Thomas Harriot's *Report*, these travel accounts ameliorate the quality of New World colours beyond that of early modern England.[222] Its colours are more vibrant, more accessible, and provide more of an enchanting spectacle, but more importantly, New World colours held mercantile value and would naturally assimilate into the English economy.

[221] See also Ralegh's account of Guiana, which also elevates the variety of New World colours 159, 161, 176.

[222] For other travel accounts that elevate the material quality of New World colours, see Hawkins 41; Ralegh 131, 141, 170; and Wood 21.

The extent to which Harriot – amongst others – was expected to transmit the merchantable value of New World colourants is evidenced in the work of his colleague, the limner and cartographer John White who, like Harriot, was commissioned by Sir Walter Raleigh to translate the sights of the New World. Instead of writing, White was, as Theodor de Bry explains, employed "to draw the description of the place" through his watercolour paintings (Harriot 41). White's task was of immense importance. In Fyne Moryson's *Precepts*, the artistic record is prioritised in travel to the extent that it informs his second instruction: "they which are unskilfull in the Arts of painting, carving, and building, can never worthily praise, nor well imitate the rare workes they shall see of these kinds" (11-13). Because the visual record was held in such esteem – posited as presenting with exacting detail – it was commonplace practice in early modern Europe for a group of explorers to include a painter. Even Sir Francis Drake, who completed his circumnavigation of the globe in 1580, was purported to have carried a sketchpad and watercolours with him as he travelled (J. Parry 14), an action suggesting that Drake feared something vital would be lost if he did not visually depict what he saw with words, with form and with colour. But while contemporaneously significant, in more recent times there have been conflicting responses to White's paintings: whether they are indeed objective, or realistic enough to provide phenomenological evidence of the New World.[223] Still, the worth of White's paintings was recognised by his contemporaries, and their value continues to be acknowledged by researchers who recognise

[223] There are conflicted responses to these paintings: Helen Wallis regards them as "naturalistic landscapes" (qtd. in Fuller 42) and Paul Hulton calls them "remarkably true (for that period)," ("Images" 208); whereas Michael Hattaway believes that John White's paintings are "inhabited by stereotypes and their cultural landscapes refracted through ideological commonplaces" (180).

them as rare first-hand observations of the New World through an Elizabethan's eyes (Sloan 13; L. Wright, "Harriot" 115).

To paint the flora, fauna, reptiles, fish, birds, and the native people of Roanoke, White worked on a ground of either brown, grey, or a tinted wash, outlined his observations with black lead, and then progressed with body-colours of black, brown, red, and blue, which were heightened with white, silver, and gold (Sloan 37; Quinn, "Introduction" 49). These colours are prevalent in White's paintings, characterised as they are by a limited palette of browns, greys, and reds: hues that create an impression of demure and muted tones that seem to visually merge at a glance (see Fig. 12). The paintings of the festive dance (*c.*1584) and the Virginian lord use colour to effect. In the case of the first painting, colour has been used to convey temporality as darkness descends. With regards to the painting of the Werowan, or great lord of Virginia, White has recorded the red body markings, but otherwise the loin cloth donned by the figure is far from chromatically striking. Indeed, this is the trend across the copies of White's watercolours left to us: colour is not visually dominant. If these paintings are to be treated as metonymic of the Roanoke settlement, as a "phenomenological trace" of White's "personal archive of sensation" (Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 85), then the New World was not an especially colourful place.

Fig. 12. John White. “Festive Dance.” The British Museum. Web 28 Mar. 2018. <http ://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=753496&partId=1>

Because White’s paintings were exhibited to a select audience, which may have included Sir Walter Raleigh and Elizabeth I (Sloan 11), it was Theodor de Bry who was responsible for how most of White’s contemporaries saw the New World (Hulton, “Introduction” xiv; Dugan, *The Ephemeral* 85). De Bry had never travelled to Virginia, but he encountered the writings of Thomas Harriot and the paintings of John White on his visits to England in 1587 and 1588 (Hulton and Quinn 25-26). White’s watercolours were translated by de Bry into engravings, and these engravings were printed alongside Thomas Harriot’s *Report*

in the first part of De Bry's *America* (1590).[224] These printed engravings could not capture White's original sketches; for while printing was a liberating force across the early modern period, it also posed certain constraints. Although coloured ink was in use – as readily viewed from the use of red ink in almanacs, for example – printed images were not able to invoke colour privileges.[225] De Bry's engravings of the New World, like all other printed images in the period, are black and white and, therefore, for all the colour in White's watercolours and the textual depictions, readers are not treated to this same colour in the pictorial representations that accompany Harriot's colourful descriptions (See Fig. 12).[226] Instead, readers are presented with a visual disparity: their imaginations are filled with colour; their eyes are left without it. Significantly for early modern England, these black and white engravings were not, however, surrounded by silence. Instead, these twenty engravings figured as portraits framed by Harriot's *Report*, which served to add layers of interpretation, and which served to add layers of colour.

[224] It was De Bry himself who engraved most of White's watercolours; however, a small number were engraved by Gysbert van Veen, his assistant (Hulton and Quinn 26).

[225] On those ink colours used in the printing industry, see Bloy, 126-32.

[226] Sven Trakulhun takes this beyond the chromatic representation when he notes that "White's drawings of American flora and fauna left virtually no traces in de Bry's printing" (62).

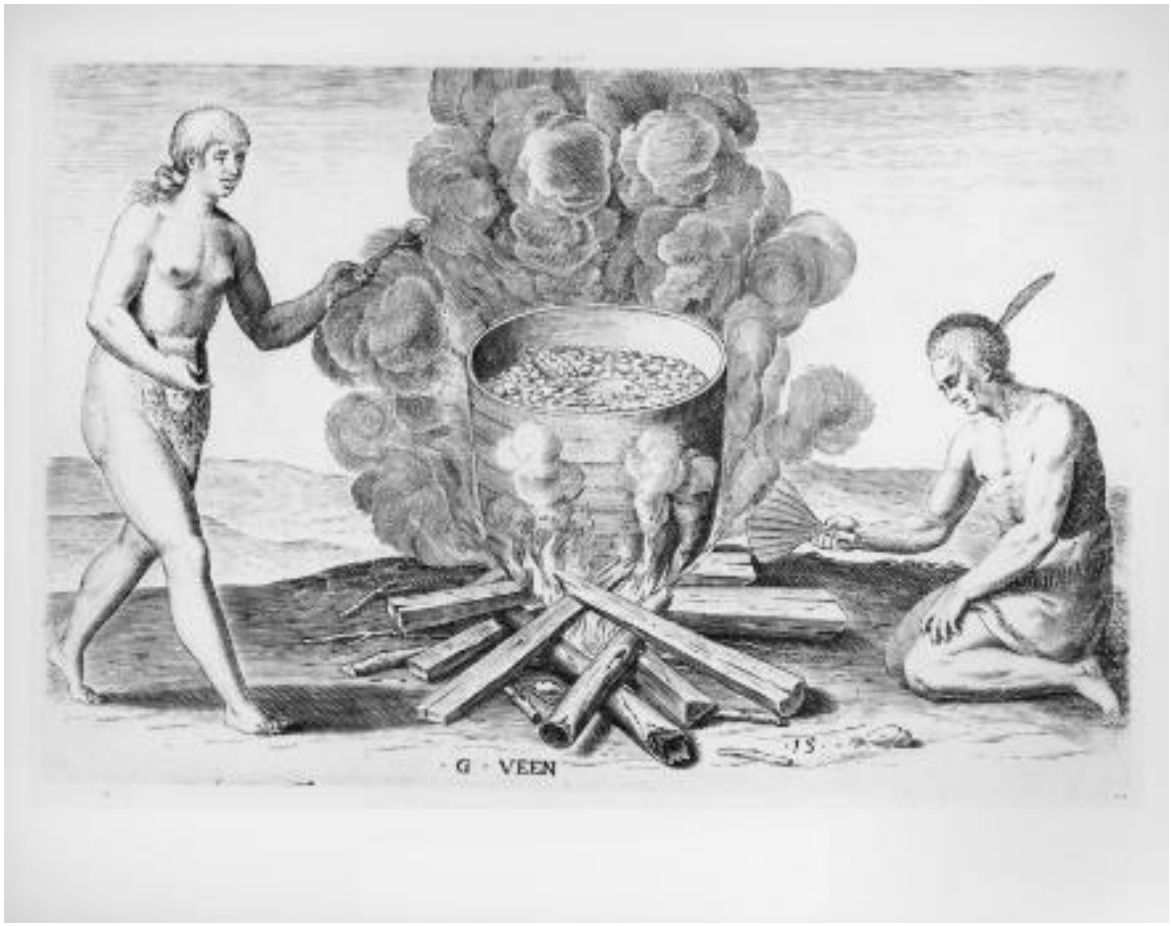

Fig. 13. Theodor de Bry. "Their seetheynge of their meate in earthen pottes." 1590. Travels through Virginia, 1618. f.84 - BL Sloane MS 1622.

Scene Painting

John White's watercolours form a first-hand account absonant to the written sources of travel, but their lack of dissemination would mean that the colouristic vision of the textual accounts would provide the overwhelming aspect of the New World for English men and women. Stephen Greenblatt has outlined how "representations are not only products but producers" (*Marvelous* 6), and Helen Smith has observed the "productive and reproductive" practice of reading ("*Grossly*" 179; "More" 414). One can witness this recreative impulse take shape as colour as a perception, as captured by travel writers, acted as a stimulus for readers and writers alike. Indeed, how travel writers negotiated their novel experiences via colour had direct

ramifications for how poets, novelists, and dramatists used colour to relate the alterity of foreign places; for how they, as such, scene painted their exotic worlds.

How readers responded to the colourful portrayals contained in travel accounts, like Thomas Harriot's, is apparent in two extant manuscript copies of William Strachey's *First Decade Conteyning the Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612). One copy, held at Princeton library, was presented to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; the other now kept at the British Library, was gifted to Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban.[227] Both copies are completed with pasted-in engravings from de Bry's *America*, which have been meticulously coloured with watercolours (Kuhlemann 79, 83). Although Strachey's textual account references John White and the Roanoke colony (9, 20), these colourful engravings are a complete visual contrast to White's muted first-hand observations, instead offering a congruity between visual explication and the textual representations circulating in early modern England (see Fig. 14, 15). Whereas John White's depiction of the Roanoke dance ritual was captured with subdued colours, the Francis Bacon manuscript uses bold and bright colours, with alternating hues of red and yellow that bounce off the page and create a sense of pattern and unity between the figures depicted. An explanation for the visual disparity is obtained from a consideration of de Bry's engraving of native Americans cooking (Fig. 13) with Henry Percy's limned-manuscript version of the same scene (Fig. 15). Although de Bry's engraving is black and white, it was originally posited alongside Thomas Harriot's *Report*; an account that describes the "Pagatowr" or maize of the New World as being of "divers colours," some "white, some red, some yellow, and some blew" (13). In Percy's manuscript, the maize floating in the cooking pot is painted red and, although not a colour traditionally understood as a quality of

[227] The Princeton copy in its entirety is found online at <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/kp78gk00d> Web 7 Feb. 18. Princeton University Library. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Manuscripts Division. C0199 (no. 1416).

corn, it is a hue that directly correlates to Harriot's description. These colours ascribed by Harriot to maize are also the colours he repeats throughout his *Report*. These reds, yellows, blues, and whites, which dominate Harriot's textual account, form the chromatic palette of both the Percy and Bacon manuscript engravings, highlighting that the watercolourist's colour palette directly subscribes to the colouristic vision provided in Harriot's travel account.[228] This correlation between colours described by travellers and colours conceived by those who read or heard of their accounts, is common across multiple creative platforms, especially in literature.

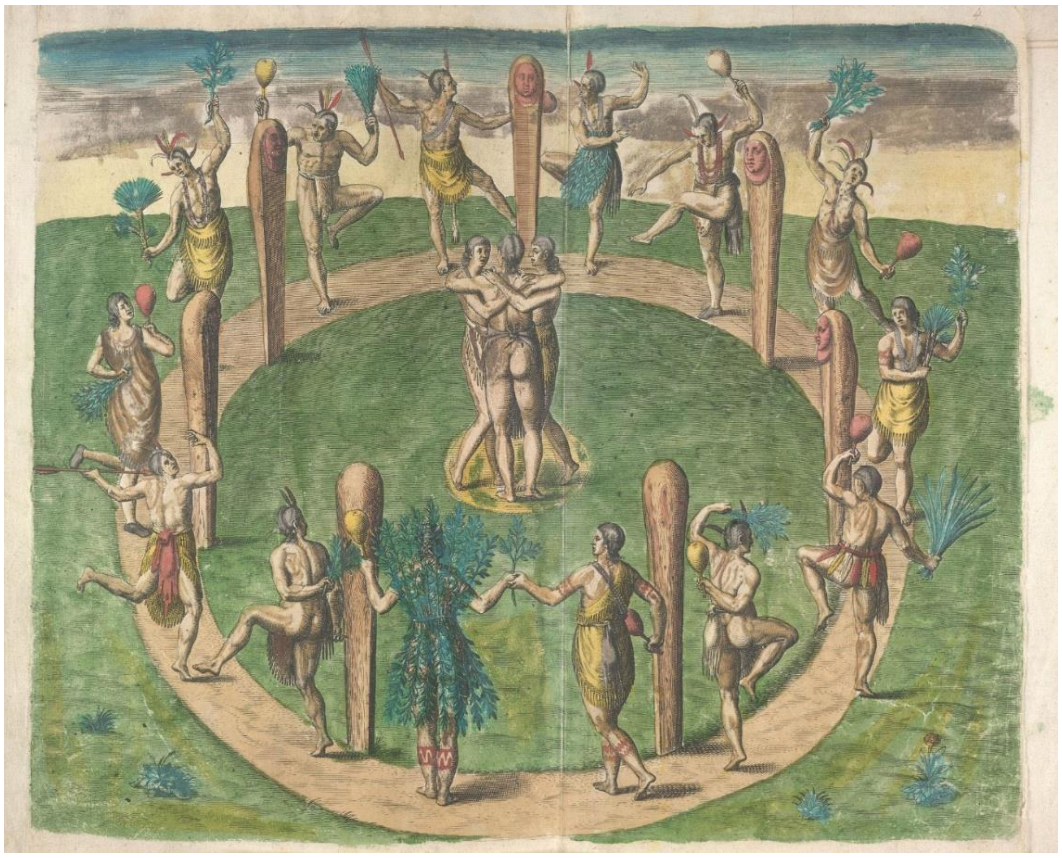

Fig. 14. "A Festive Dance." Francis Bacon copy of *The First Decade Conteyning the Historie of Travell into Virginia* Britania. MS Sloane 1622, fol. 4. 1618. Web. 28 Mar. 2018. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/coloured-engravings-of-native-americans-and-picts>

[228] An occurrence across early modern Europe, see Stallybrass, "Hand-Colored".

Fig. 15. "Their seetheynge of their meate in earthen pottes." Henry Percy copy of *The First Decade Conteyning the Historie of Travell into Virginia* Britania. 233. Princeton Library. Web. 28 Mar. 2018. <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/kp78gk00d>.

There were many literary responses to these New World encounters, which emulated the connections made between colour and novel landscapes in early modern travel accounts. Two poetic examples – Michael Drayton's "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), and Andrew Marvell's poem "Bermudas" (*c.* 1650s) – depict the wondrous, sensorial experience of the American landscape. Despite their separation of nearly fifty years, both writers portray an newly introduced landscape that satiates the sensory appetite, a land that offers unadulterated smells, textures, tastes, sounds, and sights that delight the poet-narrators. Likewise, both poems, with their language of wonder and discovery, especially marvel at the colourific nature of the New World. Drayton writes of "the ambitious Vine" which "Crownes with his purple Masse / The Cedar reaching hie" (31-33). The choral praise offered in Marvell's "Bermudas" invokes colour as it describes that God "lands us on a grassy stage" (line 11), "gave us this

eternal Spring / Which here enamells every thing" (13-14), and how he "hangs in shades the Orange bright, / Like golden Lamps in a green Night" (17-18). In both poems, colour in the New World is not only prevalent, but elevated. Drayton's vine is crowned with purple, which physically and figuratively, considering purple's royal associations, situates the vine as "reaching hie". Similarly, Marvell's New World is described as existing in a perpetual state of progress, and this Spring-like state has the consequence of casting vibrant colours across its entire landscape ("enamel" meaning "to adorn or beautify [any surface] with rich and varied colours").[229] In this idyllic place, even oranges appear aureate. Although equally presenting hyperbolic scenes, these poems respond to their contemporary context and display intertextual congruity with accounts of the New World circulating in early modern England at their moments of conception. Drayton's familiarity with travel accounts is apparent, as his poem alludes to a trio of ships that departed from London, heading for Virginia in 1606, whose "voyages attend, / Industrious HACKLUIT" (67-68), and H. R. Woudhuysen has directly implicated Drayton's colourful imagery with Hakluyt's descriptions of previous Virginian voyages (807).

The presentation of the New World as full of inexplicable colour sights and as being both chromatically diverse and abundant in travel accounts is carefully imitated in the unfinished piece, *New Atlantis*, composed by Francis Bacon (published posthumously in 1627). This text is presented as a first-hand account of a European crew discovering an island named "Bensalem," a place that parallels the New World. Whereas Howard B. White has considered the colour symbolism of *New Atlantis*, Bacon's familiarity with the colour of travel accounts has not been discussed in scholarship (195-96). Like Drayton and Marvell, Bacon uses colourful descriptions to evoke the wonder of novel sights. For example, when they first arrive

[229] "enamel, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 9 December 2017.

at Bensalem, a native presents the crew with some island-grown fruit, which is described as "like an orange, but of a color between orange-tawny and scarlet" (3), and the narrator depicts the room where the special feast of the "tirsan" or "father" takes place as displaying a "state" over the tirsan's chair that is "curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colors" (14). In both instances, Bacon attends to the beauty of the colours, but like early modern travel accounts, does so without specificity, suggesting that there is no corresponding visual referent in early modern England for the colour sights. Moreover, the alterity of Bensalem is captured by Bacon in his representation of the island's advanced chromatics, which form a technological rift between Bensalem and the narrator's home nation. The narrator meets a Jewish merchant named Joabin (16), who outlines this technical disparity between Bensalem and Europe, stating that the island has "'divers mechanical arts, *which you have* not; and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others'" (22; emphasis added). Indeed, the superlative nature of Bensalem's colours is noticed throughout *New Atlantis*, as outfits on this island are "of an excellent azure color, far more glossy than ours" (2); the houses are made of bricks "somewhat bluer than our brick" (3-4); the ivy is "somewhat whiter" (14); and the island's parchment is "shining yellow" and "somewhat yellower than ours" (14, 2). Colours in Bensalem are of an intensity of saturation that excels any hues the narrator had previously experienced. Therefore, colour is used as a means of displaying cultural distinction. It is colour that consistently separates the two nations, and it is colour that defines Bensalem as superior.

It has been acknowledged of early modern plays that colourful objects were used to signify a foreign setting. Benjamin Schmidt and Margaret Ferguson have both highlighted the example of the feathered fan as an iconized object, used to articulate the "exotic world" for theatre audiences (Schmidt 37, 43; de Grazia, Quilligan, and Stallybrass 9). In the case of early modern drama, vocal colours, as much as colourful objects, offered a practical solution for

staging geographical otherness, as dramaturgical impediments would have made it difficult to represent a journey or setting to audiences, which were usually signalled by "choruses, dumb shows, chance encounters and scenes of failed or delayed recognition" (Maquerlot and Willems 4). William Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (*c.* 1606-07) and *The Tempest* (*c.* 1610-11) use colour to create an impression of distant localities as they stage individuals attempting to comprehend and explain new and exotic sights.[230] *Antony and Cleopatra*, performed just months after James I authorised the Jamestown colony, uses colour to effect as it stages cultural encounters between the East and the West. These encounters may have taken on a visual form as Mark Thornton Burnett has conjectured, for Cleopatra may have worn an elaborate costume and the boy actor who performed her may have been "'blacked up'" to indicate the queen's "'tawny'" complexion' (5).[231] Whilst playing companies used costumes and cosmetics to connote difference, the play text directly offers a means of indicating geographical remove. In a speech that incorporates a plethora of sensory experiences, Enobarbus' report of seeing Cleopatra's barge on the Cyndnus river is riddled with colour references. Her barge's deck is "gold," as is the fabric over her pavilion, there are "purple sails," and boys surrounding her using "divers-coloured fans" to keep her cool (2.2.198, 205, 199, 209). Geographical and cultural difference is marked by a distinction of colour palette, not just by a dissimilarity of skin tones.

Moreover, *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's play most intricately connected to New World preoccupations, uses shifting chromatics to effect.[232] Whereas John White's understanding of

[230] This is only one of the ways in which the commercial theatre in early modern England used colour, as will be explored in chapter five.

[231] On the blackening of the actors' bodies, see Vaughan, "Blacking-up".

[232] See Hulme and Sherman, Knapp, Parr 5, Hadfield, *Literature* 244, and Gillies 149; and Vaughan and Vaughan 39-41.

the New World ecology is a steady depiction of browns and reds, in *The Tempest* the landscape is observed at different times as sandy, yellow, green, and brown (1.2.379, 2.1.54, 2.1.55). While providing a magical quality that correlates with Prospero's powers, this description of a transformative landscape finds commonality with travel accounts. For instance, Gabriel Archer's record of his travels to Newfoundland (1625) includes a description of water that 'turned to a "yellowish greene," and ground that became "sandie" with "glittering stones" (115-16).[233] While Shakespeare emulates travel literature's enhanced colour experiences in both *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*, in this latter play he also stages his distrust of such vibrant occurrences via the interaction of Gonzalo, Antonio, Sebastian, and Adrian:

> GONZALO. [*to* ADRIAN] How lush and lusty the grass looks!
>
> How green!
>
> ANTONIO. The ground indeed is tawny.
>
> SEBASTIAN. With an eye of green in't.
>
> ANTONIO. He misses not much.
>
> SEBASTIAN. No, he doth but mistake the truth totally.
>
> GONZALO. [*to* ADRIAN] But the rarity of it is, which is indeed almost beyond credit –
>
> SEBASTIAN. [*to* ANTONIO] As many vouched rarities are. (2.1.53-61)

In this exchange, Gonzalo's chromatic perception of an overriding greenness is undermined by Antonio and Sebastian's retorts, and the audience is taken on an imagined visual journey from seeing green to seeing tawny; from evocations of the freshness and the green ripeness of the

[233] A similar colour description is found in Whitaker 220.

landscape to a brown dullness that signals the ground's barrenness. Here, it is specifically colour that Shakespeare uses as an avenue to grapple with the boundaries between reality and fiction in early modern travel accounts, as he recognises and spotlights the reliance of the English public on the sight of a few.

Shakespeare, Drayton, Marvell, and Bacon are not isolated cases. Across these varied generic forms of poetry, prose, and drama, colour is used time and time again as the writer's conventional means of denoting alterity between the New World and England.[234] As poetry, prose, and drama promulgated the semantic of colour and topographical difference, Richard Brome's metatheatrical play *The Antipodes* (1638) draws the audience's attention to this usage of colour as a learned trait. Speaking to Doctor Hughball, Joyless describes Peregrine as one who "loved to read / Reports of travel and of voyages," which he would "whole days / And nights (sometimes by stealth) be on such books / As might convey his fancy round the world" (1.1.131-37). In Act one, Scene three, Peregrine walks onto the stage "with a book in his hand," visually paralleling what the audience have been told. But it is the content of these travels that is striking, for as Peregrine describes the sights contained within the voyage accounts, he emphasises colour: "Dragons, and serpents, elephants white and blue, / Unicorns, and lions of many colours" (1.3.38-39). What is critical to this description, as it is to those evoked in the period's poetry, prose, and drama, is that Peregrine has lifted it straight out of a travel account by Mandeville (Parr 239). Brome's intertextual reference to Mandeville's writing implies his belief, like Shakespeare's *Tempest,* that chromatic descriptions within voyage accounts are to

[234] Another example of colour and New World alterity is depicted in an English pageant witnessed by Horatio Busino in 1599, where children "in Indian costume" display aprons with "red feathers" and other "various hues" (118). In a similar fashion, George Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple* (1613) presents Virginian Priests with "tubants," "stucke with severall coloured feathers" describing these visuals as being "like those of their countrie" (A4v).

be treated with scepticism. Whether or not writers of fiction in early modern England trusted the colour perceptions detailed in travel accounts, the heightened colours of their novel landscapes were stimulated by the heightened colours presented in travel literature.

Colouring-in the Globe

Since natural colourants were geographically determined, colour was intertwined with English identity in the early modern period. England had access to blues, greens, yellows, and reds, but these colours were not particularly vibrant nor colourfast, leaving England unable to compete with the dyed goods of other nations. England's native colour palette, while for some cause for national pride, was for others a humiliation, as they viewed the country's chromatic limitations in contrast with its continental neighbours' colour acquisitions. Precisely because colour was subject to geography, in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was an underlying expectation that to travel was to both witness and amass novel colours. As a nation seeking to expand its colour palette, therefore, early modern England looked to the New World for new hues to improve its dyeing industry and to compete economically with other countries.

With colour predominant in English domestic, foreign, and colonial policy, economic and colonial aspirations actively shaped how the New World colourscape was textually recorded. Indeed, travel writers present foreign colours through the prism of English cultural ambition. Thomas Harriot's *Report*, for instance, gives prominence to the recording of known and unusual pigments and dyestuffs, describing these through the prismatic concerns of early modern England. Moreover, John White's watercolours of the Roanoke Colony suggest that the New World's colour palette was not particularly multifarious, nor bright; and yet, the discourse circulating in first-hand travel accounts presents a different picture. The travel accounts of the Americas paint a series of ornately-coloured scenes; scenes ripe with possibility, with bold and lasting colours, with people, landscapes, clothing, and creatures that

display multifarious hues. Their repetitive references to chromatic adjectives gives the impression of bright and diverse colour as the overriding visual experience of the New World.

Apart from the few travellers who ventured to the Americas, the majority of English men and women had not *seen* the New World; their knowledge of the colours of the New World was solely gathered from textual or aural accounts. As travellers acted as guides to unseen landscapes, those who remained at home relied on their accounts to glimpse something of the experience of the New World. As a nation desirous of more colour, visually attuned to colour, and seeing an influx of new colours around them, it is unsurprising that English writers, readers, and audiences would have grasped unto the chromatic descriptions contained within expedition tales and accounts. What is evident is that as they connected with the presentation of heightened colours in travel literature, these colours stimulated further presentations of heightened colours in early modern English culture, which were expressed both visually and textually. In particular, colour was used as a means of transportation in fictional presentations of novel landscapes, as poets, dramatists, and prose writers coloured-in their settings with diverse and vivid hues.

Discerning which "vouched rarities" were "beyond credit" was a prevalent task as England progressed into the seventeenth century, and dramatists, poets, and prose writers alike satirised travellers' accounts, aggravated by the hyperbolic nature of stories circulating orally and in print (L. Wright, "Seafarers'" 154), and this extended to the portrayal of colour. As well as Shakespeare and Brome, Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko or The History of the Royal Slave*, which was published in 1688, self-consciously colourises the New World. She writes of "Birds and Beasts of wonderful and surprizing Forms, Shapes, and Colours" and "rare Flies, of amazing Forms and Colours" (38), while feathered headpieces are depicted with "Tinctures" that are "unconceivable" (39). Although Behn's *Oroonoko* is temporally external to the scope of this thesis, her superlative language highlights her recognition of, and draws our attention to, the

use of colour in early modern literature as a conventional means of conjuring alternative environments for English audiences. Just as English men and women grappled with the issue of having no tangible visual referent for colour in foreign lands, the following chapter explores how the elements of first-hand colour and imagined colour interweave in the layers of early modern performance. It is revealed that the affiliation between colour as a material and colour as language was experiential ground not only for English travel, but also in England's theatrical productions.

Chapter Five: Colourising Performance

As Prospero concludes the spectacle of the "many-coloured messenger" (4.1.76) in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, he describes it as an "insubstantial pageant faded" (4.1.155). As a play often interrogated by scholars for its theatrical self-consciousness, this comment is worth dwelling on.[235] Prospero's description does more than merely signal the denouement of the masque to its spectators. Significantly, it implies through the term "faded" that colour is part of the illusion of early modern performance, and that a discolouration occurs as a performance draws to a close.[236] There are numerous examples of plays performed in the professional theatre and penned by different playwrights that require the use of colour for dramatic effect. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great I* (*c.* 1587-88), for instance, foregrounds tents of three colours – of black, of white, and of red – to reflect Tamburlaine's changing mentality during his three-day siege (4.1.47-63). Also noteworthy for its lasting impact on the reader is the devilish dog, Tom, in the Rowley, Dekker, and Ford tragi-comedy, *The Witch of Edmonton,* written in 1621. The dog is black for most of the play, but in Act five, he undergoes a colour change from black to white, alarming Elizabeth Sawyer who rejects his transition as she states, "'tis the black colour, / Or none, which I fight under. I do not like / Thy puritan paleness" (5.1.51-53).[237] While colour was intentionally present on stage – as these examples demonstrate and this chapter will interrogate – it was also synonymous with a performance. Put simply: to perform was to be in colour.

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[235] For examples of scholarship, see Hapgood 419-38; and Vaughan and Vaughan 63, 67.

[236] "fade, adj.2." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 28 November 2016, def. 1; "fade, v.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 28 November 2016, def. 4.

[237] On the cultural understanding of the devil taking the form of a black or white dog, see Munro, *The Witch* 55-64, 153. Another notable instance includes Malvolio's yellow stockings in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1601; 3.4).

Indeed, this concept was culturally resonant in early modern England, for throughout religious polemics, artists' treatises, and especially in play texts, colour is aligned with performing.[238] This was something Shakespeare understood and makes repeated reference to in his plays. Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* states that he fears "colourable / colours" (4.2.137-38). In *The Tempest*, Prospero's description of his brother's and his fellow conspirators' dupery is specifically aligned with colour, as he explains to Miranda, they "With colours fairer painted their foul ends" (1.2.143).[239] Moreover, to witness a performance was oftentimes figuratively conceived as a process of receiving colour, as John Rainolds observes how audiences "stain their bodies and minds with wanton deeds" and believes that what is seen "might taint the spectators" in *The Overthrow of Stage-Plays* (18; 118).[240] The sum of these descriptions suggests that to perform is to be in colour, but also that to spectate a performance is to be involved in a process of colouring.[241]

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[238] Examples include, Shakespeare's *King John* 3.1.31; *Antony and Cleopatra* 1.3.32; *As you Like it* 3.4.6; *Hamlet* 2.2.272-73; and *Henry VI, Pt 1* 2.4.34-35. John Donne describes in *An Anatomy of the World* how one can "colour vicious deeds with good pretence, / Or with bought colours to illude men's sense" (B4r). See also Middleton's *World Tossed at Tennis,* 370-75. Colour-as-dupery is also explored in chapter three, especially through the example of John Foxe (139-40).

[239] In *A Mirror of Monsters* (1587), William Rankins describes performers as "painted sepulchres" (2r), who "paint their pretenses with fine colors" (20r). Similar language is displayed by Crosse P3v; Rankins 13v, 20r; and Puttenham 27. For the connections made in the early modern theatre between paint and appearances, see Stevens 97-102.

[240] This depiction of colour as corrupting is also considered in chapter four, see n. 198.

[241] Such was the conflation of plays and colour that in his dedicatory epistle for *The Roaring Girl* (published in 1612), Thomas Middleton characterised the comic tone of his play using colour: "Such a kind of light-coloured summer stuff, mingled with diverse colours, you shall find in this published comedy" (10-11).

Recent orientation towards the material and sensory experience of theatre has argued for the full-body experience of the audience and actors (Karim-Cooper and Stern 2; Gurr, "Preface" viiii), foregrounding elements of performance that have transformed how scholars approach early modern drama, including its sights, smells, sounds, and even tastes and haptic occurrences. Although much progress has been made in relation to the material environment of the early modern stage, including the soundscape, and the "smellscape" (Dugan, "As Dirty" 197; Gurr, "Preface" xi), the "colourscape" of performance is still to be explored.[242] Indeed, as an often extra-textual reality, colour tends not to be foregrounded in early modern theatre criticism, which is surprising given how, as Michael O'Connell observes, "absolutely crucial visual representation is to what a play comes to mean" (135). It is also surprising considering that practical guides to staging frequently highlight the role of colour in performance, encouraging directors to use colour schemes or coloured lighting, which has had a direct impact on recent performances of, for example, Shakespeare's plays.[243]

Glimpses of colour have appeared in studies of early modern theatre. For instance, Karim-Cooper has described performing indoors as a "coming together of light, colour and

[242] For examples of soundscape research, see B. Smith, "Within"; Jones 33-50; and Dustagheer, "Acoustic" and *Shakespeare's* 102-22. For "smellscape" studies, see Stanev; Dugan, *The Ephemeral*, and "As Dirty". In this latter study, Dugan describes scents as "stage properties" (196). Seminal studies on colour and the theatre to date include Bruce R. Smith's chapter on "The Curtain Between the Theatre and the Globe" in *The Key of Green* (208-47), which concentrates on the presence of green curtains; MacLaggan; and a special edition of the French journal *E-rea*, entitled, "The Dyer's Hand: Colours in Early Modern England" (2015). Particularly noteworthy was the inclusion of the seminar, "Shakespeare in Colour" at the International Association World Shakespeare Congress 2016, held in Stratford-Upon-Avon, 2.08.16.

[243] For an example of theatre guides that reflect on the usage of colour, see Crabtree and Beudert; and McKinney and Butterworth 179-80. Colour choices were made for a recent production of *Cymbeline*, see Tiramani 59; and Tosh 113.

sequins or jewels" ("To Glisten" 192), and Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell observe of masque designers that they "thought out their colour schemes" (17). These momentary mentions of colour are not adequate, and scholars cannot afford to regard colour as merely superficial or supplementary to a performance in early modern England, especially considering M. Channing Linthicum's observation that Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists referred to nearly every colour available in their period (24). Indeed, in Shakespeare's repertoire, the word "colour" is used 86 times and "colours" on 71 occasions, which is significant quantitative data that does not include the most basic of colour terminology; for example, "gold" is cited 233 times, and "black" frequents Shakespeare's works on 174 instances.[244] Colour was equally as important for performances designed for the royal court. In the published version of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* (performed in 1608), Jonson criticises painters who "lent small colour to any, to attribute much of the spirit of these things to their pencills" (3: 242); comments that highlight that the colours used in a performance had the capacity to either enliven Jonson's poetry, or to leave it short-changed. Furthermore, a masque took place in 1616 called *The Merchant Adventurers' Entertainment*; a performance that celebrated the cloth industry and staged dyers, weavers, and cloth-dressers as characters (Knowles 463). Unfortunately, the text for this masque is now lost, but what its staging and subject matter reveals is an engagement with, and interest in, colourful industries.

This chapter sheds light on the colourscape of early modern performance as it investigates the place of colour in the mechanics and the appearance of performance in the

[244] While I maintain the position stated in my introduction that quantitative analysis of colour is inefficient for a large corpus, I have concentrated specifically on Shakespeare as a single author. I have used the readily accessible "Open Source Shakespeare Concordance" which offers scholars "machine-readable texts" (Craig and Greatley-Hirsch 32). This ensures that other scholars can replicate these results. I undertook separate keyword searches for the following terms: "colour," "colours," "gold," and "black".

commercial theatre and in the court masque. Drawing specifically on Shakespeare's dramatic repertoire and court masques penned by Ben Jonson, this chapter serves to re-cast colour in early modern performance, arguing that colour was central to both forms of dramatic entertainment, as a "verbal pigment" and as "a kind / Of excellent dumb discourse" (Schiebinger 101; *The Tempest* 3.3.36-38). The edited collection, *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance* (2014), considers how the sensuous and physical nature of the theatrical event impacted on the language of play texts (Karim-Cooper and Stern 1-3), drawing on playhouses' architecture, costumes, properties, and special effects. I advance discussions included in this study's collection by illuminating how colour was a sensory reality of performance that also contributed to the textual – but also visual – evidence of performance. Whereas *Shakespeare's Theatres* focuses solely on Shakespeare's repertoire, I extend the conversation as I use relevant examples from both Shakespeare's plays and those masques penned by Ben Jonson that were published with his annotations as eyewitness of the performance event.[245] Shakespeare and Jonson have been selected to highlight that scholarship has neglected to consider colour in performance, even in the works of these canonical writers. Moreover, comparing two forms of theatre allows for an understanding of the centrality of colour to performance more generally in early modern England, and allows for a critical reading of these disparate forms that attends to their similarities and differences.

How this chapter is staged is a direct response to Martin White's assertion that a more encompassing approach to performance is required, considering factors such as the audience, the theatre space, the clothing of the audience and actors ("When" 129), to which I add the preparations for performance, for this is where priorities for a production are uncovered.

[245] In doing so, I recognise that there are potential disparities between what exists in the printed versions of these texts, and the realities of performance (Gurr, *The Shakespearean* 209).

Initially, this chapter considers the canvas of the performance event, attending to the colourful presence of the audience and the situation of productions. It highlights that the saturation of colour, or reticence to colour, in the texts for performance was due to the nature of the performance space, as Jonson's masque poetry was penned for an ever-changing backdrop, while Shakespeare wrote for the permanent stages of the Globe and the Blackfriars.[246] From here, the chapter moves on to the extra-theatrical processes of chromatic-decision making and colour application, bringing to the fore the fact that colour was actively ruminated, and that colouring was a process that was engaged in by a diverse range of people in preparation for a performance. Lastly, it examines how colour was used during a performance. Scholarship on both outdoor and indoor performance spaces have primarily been concerned with how coloured surfaces interplay with different lighting conditions, often drawing on Sir Francis Bacon's assertion of how white, carnation, and sea-water green are the most effective colours under candlelight conditions (225).[247] These observations highlight colour's importance to performance, but I build on this knowledge as I expose that Shakespeare's plays and masques-

[246] While Siobhan Keenan's study, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* (2002), has highlighted that plays were performed outside of playhouses, this chapter maintains a focus on the two theatres for which Shakespeare primarily wrote.

[247] Current interest in this interplay is testament to the research existing on early modern light, see Graves and Vallelly. In Martin White's "The Chamber of Demonstrations," Jenny Tiramani illuminates how silver and gold thread in costumes would have caught the light in indoor performances, and how primary colours, including red, in low-level lighting tend to look brown or green; while Farah Karim-Cooper argues that less white makeup needs to be applied in outdoor theatres than in indoor performance spaces. Anna Reynolds draws attention to the tonal differences of costumes, highlighting that stockings and sleeves were intentionally pale to increase their visibility on the candlelit stage, effectively drawing the spectators' attention to the gestural movements of the actors and courtiers (272). Of note for its concentration on the colours of costumes and lighting in the masque, see Ravelhofer's chapter "Colours and Lights: The Costume in Motion," 157-69.

in-performance are not only concerned with existing colours, but rather, attempt to *create* colour for their spectators by drawing on the chromatic potentiality of their respective environs.

As it re-casts colour – those colours of the immediate environment and those colours created *for* a performance – this chapter argues that performances, whether within the professional theatre or in the royal court, required a vital awareness of the chromatic aesthetic and chromatic offerings of playing spaces, and how these colourful elements could impact on the spectators' experience of a production. It reveals how coloured materials were fundamental to early modern performances, but also that colour, whether seen or verbalised, was also a means by which English playwrights or masque designers could manipulate the spectators' consciousness, effectively altering their visual experience.

The Canvas for Performance

From the moment an individual stepped into the performance space, until the moment they left, they were surrounded by colour. The Chaplain for the Venetian ambassador, Horatio Busino, was a spectator both at a playhouse and at a court performance, and his recorded observations offer something of the colourful phenomenology of a performance. In 1614 he visited the Fortune playhouse, and describes how a lady sat beside him, and proceeded to show him her elaborate garments:

> The lady's bodice was of yellow satin richly embroidered, her petticoat of gold tissue with stripes, her robe of red velvet with a raised pile, lined with yellow muslin with broad stripes of pure gold . . . and the collar of white satin beneath the delicately-wrought ruff struck me as extremely pretty. (qtd. in Gurr, "General" 5)

This attention to the colouration of spectators' clothing is also evidenced as Busino reports on his experience of Ben Jonson's and Inigo Jones's masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), which presented over six-hundred ladies with "dresses . . . of such variety in cut and

colour as to be indescribable" (138). It was not only the colourful clothing that was notable, however, as Busino observes:

> Whilst waiting for the King we amused ourselves by admiring the decorations and beauty of the house . . . the second row being upheld by Doric pillars, while above these rise Ionic columns supporting the roof. The whole is of wood, including even the shafts which are carved and gilt with much skill. (137)

What is particularly striking in Busino's accounts is the frequency with which colour is mentioned; a frequency that makes colour a salient feature in both his letters. Colour is seen from the clothing of the spectators; colour is noticed in the architecture of the performance space; and colour is even present in his relation of the banquet that concluded the masque proceedings, for in addition to the sugared configurations, there were some "large figures . . . of painted pasteboard for ornament" (143). Colour envelopes the entire performance event, and colour is what has lived on in the memory of this spectator. Not only did players and masquers perform in colour – namely costume – but significantly, they performed within a colourfully charged environment.

Both Shakespeare, as playwright for the professional theatre, and Ben Jonson, as masque poet and as someone who also wrote for the commercial theatre, reveal in their writing that they recognised they were providing narratives that would be spoken within colourful environments. Indeed, Shakespeare draws on the environmental stimulus of colour in his plays, using both the stable playhouse colouration and the stable colour aesthetic of stock character types as a means of weaving visual chromatic details in his script. While we cannot know for sure which colours found permanent residence in either the outdoor playhouse of the Globe, or the indoor theatre of Blackfriars, there are avenues for chromatic conjecture as contemporary criticism proposes the existence of stage hangings – of "arras, tapestry, curtain, traverse" – as

a "constant visual feature of stages in early modern London's outdoor theatres" (B. Smith, *The Key* 221), and indeed, indoor playing spaces (Stern 110; B. Smith, *The Key* 223).[248] Certainly, a curtain is suggested in the *Tempest*'s staging directions as "PROSPERO *discovers* FERDINAND *and* MIRANDA, *playing at chess*" (5.1.173).[249] According to Bruce R. Smith, the predominant colour of these hangings would have been green (*The Key* 228).[250] The probability of green on the Globe stage is also indicated by the medieval custom of using a green playing area, with this knowledge prompting those involved in the reconstruction of the Bankside Globe to paint the stage floor "*terre verte*," an "earth green" (Ronayne 134). While this convention of green stages existed prior to Shakespeare's writing and may not have transferred to the Globe playhouse, green retains its place as part of the stage floor's aesthetic; as alluded to in contemporary accounts of the stage and in Shakespeare's plays, green rushes were scattered across the stage, and even, as in *2 Henry IV* (1598), during the course of a performance (M. White, *Renaissance* 117).[251] This evidence for green in the playhouse is supported by Shakespeare's *Tempest*, which contains a preponderance of green allusions, including a "green land" (4.1.130) a "green sea" (5.1.43), "green sour ringlets" (5.1.37), and fixates, as previously related, on Gonzalo's perception of green.[252] These allusions to green are

[248] Concerning the indoor playhouse colours, see M. White, "When" 129-30.

[249] Middleton and Webster's Sib Knavesbe asks if anyone is hiding "behind the arras" in *Anything for a Quiet Life* (2.1.69).

[250] Stage hangings in the theatre have been explored by B. Smith, *The Key*; Olson; Gurr, *The Shakespearean*; Ichikawa 153-188; and Karim-Cooper and Stern 4.

[251] Stage directions in *2 Henry IV* state: "*Enter two GROOMS, [strewing rushes]*" (5.5), Middleton and Webster's *Anything for a Quiet Life* refers to "rushes" (2.1.64); while Richard Flecknoe's *Discourse on the English Stage,* attached to the end of his publication of *Love's Kingdom* (1664), remarks on "the Stage strew'd with Rushes" (G7r).

[252] See chapter four.

notably related to the environment, to the fictional landscape of the green island, and while a number of scholars have read this relation between green and the environment through the lens of ecocriticism, I would suggest that the significance of green was much more visually tangible to the audience than their experience of land ownership and land usage.[253] Perhaps these greens referred simultaneously to the fictional and the theatrical environment; perhaps the possibility of a green stage, of green rushes, or of green curtains finds its evidence in Shakespeare's plays. In Shakespeare's *Tempest,* green is the colour on which the mythological figures perform: "Here on this grass-plot, in this very place"; "Why hath thy queen / Summoned me hither to this short-grassed green?" (4.1.82-3). Furthermore, in Act 5.1, Prospero is described as one who manipulates the tension between colours, having "t'wixt the green sea and the azur'd vault / Set roaring war" (43-44), and the spatial indicators of "t'wixt" and "vault" and "sea" suggest that green is indicated on the stage floor, with a blue canopy either referring to the heavens, or to the sky. This interpretation of green finds intertextual commonality, for in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595-96), the mechanicals make a direct connection between the green forest locale and the theatre when Quince asserts, "This green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn brake our tiring-house" (3.1.3-4).[254] Green is, therefore, not entirely an imaginative production for original audiences; but rather, green as a verbal utterance is complemented by the audience's immediate sensory-reality. The playhouse, as the audience's scenic environment, provided an immediate visual context to which Shakespeare could respond, and from which Shakespeare could draw.

That Shakespeare was attending to the colours present on stage is furthered by his interaction with those chromatic qualities of players' cosmetics and costumes predetermined

[253] See Theis.

[254] Green flooring is also suggested in *Richard II* 3.3.46, 49.

by the semiotics of theatre. In the professional theatre, female roles were constructed in large part by the boy players' application of makeup, which as Karim-Cooper has explained, presented an iconography of red and white, as a white lead base was coupled with red lips derived from kermes or cochineal (*Cosmetics* 45, 13). This paradigm of colour enabled Shakespeare to draw on these colours present on stage as his characters spoke of women. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Armado remarks of "My love is most immaculate white and red" (1.2.82), and in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Petruchio observes "Such war of white and red within her cheeks!" (4.5.31).[255] In addition to cosmetics, costume colours could be dictated by theatre semiotics, depending on the character being presented. Costumes could be used to visually narrate for audiences the social status, vocation, age, mental state, religious affiliation, marital status, and morality of a character, and possibly also the temporal and geographical setting of the play.[256] Because of these prescribed colours, Shakespeare's characters can interact with costume colouration. For example, Caliban calls Trinculo "Thou scurvy patch!" (3.2.61), gesturing to his multihued costume and its paralinguistic function of marking Trinculo out as a fool.[257] In his script, Shakespeare connects with and responds to the colours if the environment, cosmetics, and costumes present in performance.

Like Shakespeare, Jonson's plays for the professional theatre are dappled with colour references, which suggests that colour gesturing was a common practice of playwrights writing

[255] Other instances of drawing on these colours include *Love's Labour's Lost* (1.2.89); *As You Like It* (3.5.48); and *Twelfth Night* (1.5.209).

[256] See Lamb, *Performing Childhood* 22-23; Hayward 172; Gurr, "The Shakespearean" 89; Lennox and Mirabella 5; and Barranger 247; Gurr, *The Shakespearean* 244; and Lublin 634.

[257] For the use of "motley," see *Twelfth Night* (1.5.49-50). Such was the colour competence of early modern audiences that Shakespeare could use the visual semiotics of costume in his poetry, as "Sonnet 110" commences with the statement, "Alas, 'tis true I have gone here and there / And made myself a motley to the view" (1-2).

for the commercial stage. In Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1600), performed by the Children of the Chapel in Blackfriars, the play's prelude presents three children arguing over which one will wear the black robe to speak the prologue. The black robe is both consistently indicated in the dialogue, and present on stage, as they pass the cloak between themselves and demand the cloak off one another (1: 92, 105). In *Cynthia's Revels*, a play which pre-dates Jonson's masquing career, the discourse is also preoccupied with colour as it stages multiple masque scenes in its final Act. Prior to the first and second masques taking place for the playhouse audience, the figures of Cupid and Mercury pronounce the colouration of each of the masquers that will perform. In Act 5.2, Cupid explains that Aglaia is dressed in "green," while Euphantaste is in "discoloured mantle spangled all over" (1: 28, 34). Likewise, Mercury in Act 5.4 clarifies for the audience that Eucosmos wears a "changeable blue and green robe," and Eutolmos will be dressed in a "blush-coloured suit," (1: 15, 28). Jonson's deliberate reference to the costumes on stage is also evident his play, *Volpone* (1607), as Sir Politic refers to his "black gloves" (3: 5.4.58) and Volpone worries that the red colour of his beard will undermine his disguise (3: 2.4.30-31). These examples show that Jonson as playwright was actively engaged with the visual elements of performance, attending to the colouration of his characters and their costumes. But the masque form for the court compartmentalised the performance into three distinct elements, composed of script, music, and scenic design (McDermott 2; Orgel, *The Jonsonian* 117). Jonson's role in the masque form was solely as poet. It was the collaborative nature of the masque that posed problems for Jonson's literary engagement with colour, as the division of labour between poet, choreographer, and set designer, created a natural estrangement between the poet and the colours physically portrayed and verbally conjured on stage.

There are a few occasions when Jonson's poetry attempts to engage with the colourful material reality of the masque-in-performance. In the first masque Jonson and Jones

collaborated on, *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), Jonson's Venus asks the spectators to "Spy if you can, his footsteps on this green; / For here, as I am told, he late hath been" (2: 39-40).[258] The invitation to look gestures to the green of the masquing baize on which masquers sometimes performed (Orgel and Strong 101; Ravelhofer 163); a green that is observable in Jones's sketch of the "Winged Masquer" (See Fig. 16). However, this is an isolated instance of Jonson referring to the environment in his script, and this is perhaps because he could not rely on the presence of this green baize from one performance to the next. Jonson's chromatic reticence during the composition of his masque poetry is exposed in *Hymenaei* (1606). The figure of Reason utters "A thousand several-coloured loves" and "lovers' many coloured bliss" (2: 326, 359), verbal comments that would have visually resonated with the representation of Juno and the rainbow, Iris, in performance. Furthermore, the masquers of Truth and Opinion are depicted in Jonson's poetry as indistinguishable through their clothing, as Truth demands of Opinion: "Who art thou, thus that imitat'st my grace, / In steps, in habit, and resemblèd face?" (2: 604-05). In performance, these words correspond with the costume design, for Jonson explains in his published masques how the characters are dressed to disallow visual differentiation, with a shared chromatic palette of blue and white (2: 599-601). While these instances reveal a desire to engage with the colours of the masque garments, the characters do not refer to specific colours in their poetic dialogue; instead, there is a vagueness to the correspondence of the visual colours and aural aspects of performance, and this vagueness was necessitated by two main factors. Firstly, unlike the theatres Shakespeare wrote for, the visual landscape of a court masque was not dependent on the static structure, but rather, scenic backdrops and proscenium arches changed from one performance to the next, created afresh

[258] All masque references have been taken from *The Cambridge Edition of The Works of Ben Jonson* (2012), edited by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson. Each quotation is referenced by volume and line number.

by the masque's designer and often destroyed at the end of a performance (Greenblatt, "General" 29). Secondly, while Jonson could dictate through his script which characters would be present in performance, the costume design was out of his control. His role as masque poet, therefore, demanded a different approach to the colour of the stage, namely, that it was not his role to determine which colours were seen.

Fig. 16. The impression of green baize is depicted under the feet of the "Winged Masquer." Web. 28 Mar. 2018. http://www.elizabethancostume.net/masque/.

As Busino's accounts brought to light, the canvas for performance could be informed by incidental and static colouration in both the professional theatre and the masque-in-performance. Although audience members provided incidental colours to the performance

space in both forms of theatre, the professional theatre offered Shakespeare base colours, a kind of canvas, from which he could draw colours from, and unto which more colours could be added. On the other hand, as he approached his poetry for each masque, Jonson does not engage with specific colours. Whether writing with colour or not, palpable in both textual accounts is a chromatic consciousness underlying the scripting process for both William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, despite their disparate forms. Both writers possessed a material awareness as they envisioned performances, attempting to create a correspondence between colour as seen and colour as heard throughout the course of a production. For Shakespeare, this involved, at times, drawing on the playhouses' base colouration and his theatre's chromatic paradigms; but for Jonson, who did not know which colours would feature in the masque performances, his attention to colour in his writing is evident in how he places himself at a remove from colouring his words, relinquishing the paintbrush to facilitate the colours chosen by those in control of the masque's scenography. The collaborative colouring of Shakespeare – drawing on the materiality of the stage – and of Jonson – by recognising his disconnection from the mutable colour-aesthetic of the masque – was only furthered in the design process for performances in the commercial theatre and those created for the royal court.

A Collaborative Palette

Colouring performances for the professional theatre and for the court masque was a collaborative effort. The visual composition of a performance was informed by the audience, and in Shakespeare's theatres by the playhouses themselves, but there were other factors and individuals that were actively involved in defining a production's colour aesthetic. Masques, with their intertwining of poetry, visuals, and music were innately collaborative pieces, and this collaborative strain continued as chromatic decisions were made. The poet was not, as Ben Jonson's writing revealed, actively engaged in the colouring process; instead, Jonson relied on designers to provide the overall visual aesthetic. Nor did Shakespeare have comprehensive

control of the chromatics of a performance, as his plays accentuate an investment in colouring that extended beyond the playwright.

Indeed, Shakespeare's plays demonstrate both his input as playwright and that of the players in determining the colour palette of each performance. Shakespeare's works divulge the chromatic decisions he undertook during the scripting of his plays, as evidenced in the stage directions provided. Morocco is described as contesting for Portia's hand dressed "*all in white*" (2.1) in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596), a colour undoubtedly chosen to emulate both Morocco's and Portia's verbal emphasis on the dark brown or "*tawny*" of Morocco's skin (2.1, 2.1.1, 1.3.109-10). Similarly, in *I Henry VI* (1592), the players performing the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Somerset, and Earl of Suffolk are directed to each pluck either a white or red rose to illustrate their political loyalties (2.4). While stage directions indicate the playwright's chromatic government, Shakespeare's flexibility in determining colours is also suggested via "'intra-dialogic'" means (McAuley 223), as his characters, throughout his dramatic repertoire, draw the spectators' attention to the presence of hues on themselves or on others around them. In *Titus Andronicus* (1594), Titus's son, Marcus, utters a gestural marker as he refers to "*This* palliament of white and spotless hue" (1.1.181; emphasis added); a marker that directs spectators' gazes to the garment in his hand, which, to ensure verisimilitude, needed to be white. As Shakespeare controlled several costume choices, his script also reveals a playwright shaping the physical features of his characters. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (*c.* 1590-91) presents Julia as she chromatically compares her appearance with that of Silvia, her rival for her beloved's affection: "Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow. / If that be all the difference in his love, / I'll get me such a coloured periwig" (4.4.181-84). As the metatheatrical dialogue highlights, Shakespeare defined the hues of those wigs to be donned by the boy actors playing these female roles. This concentration on the colour of physical features extended to those players in male roles, for in his *Winter's Tale* (1610) Shakespeare presents Leontes and

Polixenes swearing by their beards: "So sure as this beard's grey" (2.3.162), and "By my white beard'" (4.4.393). Despite the symbolism of these hues as markers of their old age, the two men have been effectively differentiated by the playwright or company through the colouration of their prosthetic beards.[259] As these examples from one of Shakespeare's earliest plays to one of his latest highlight, Shakespeare was a playwright involved in colour choices throughout his dramatic career.

In addition to the playwright, Shakespeare's plays intimate players as engaged in chromatic decisions for performance, and this is evinced most clearly in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a play that reflects not only on performance, but also, via the mechanicals, on the rehearsals prior to the theatrical event. During the mechanicals' preparations, Bottom conjectures about what colour of beard would best befit his role as Pyramus, and these colours vary from "straw-coloured," "orange-tawny," "purple in-grain," to a "French-crown-colour . . . your perfect yellow" (1.2.76-78). As a weaver by trade, engaged with coloured threads, Bottom's chromatic knowledge and contemplation are not surprising as part of his characterisation; however, his listing could be viewed equally as a metatheatrical reference to the playing company's store of coloured beards, and as evidence of the players' influence on the choice of colours to be used for their character. Indeed, Will Fisher suggests that Bottom's dialogue allows for conjecture on how a player may have compared himself in a range of stage prosthetics before deciding which was most appropriate for the performance (243, 255). In this case, the decision is determined by each beard's chromatics and symbolism, and the verbal recurrence of Bottom's "straw-coloured beard" in Thomas Middleton's *Anything for a Quiet*

[259] There are many other examples of the playwright's colour direction. The Belmont heiress, Portia, is described by Bassanio as possessing "sunning locks" that "Hang on her temples like a golden fleece" (*MV* 1.1.168-70). See also *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2.2.120; *Hamlet* 1.2.77; and *Antony and Cleopatra* 3.3.31-32.

Life (*c.* 1621; 2.1.57) implies that Bottom was deciding between the stock prosthetics available to commercial theatre. Considering the rainbow range of hues of prosthetic beards available to actors, it is not surprising that choosing one colour presented a challenge: in one university-based performance at Oxford for King James, the students performing rented no fewer than twenty-two colours of false beards (Fisher 230).

Insight into the chromatic decisions made for each masque is granted from both Inigo Jones's sketches and Jonson's textual commentary on masque performances, which surrounds his poetry in printed copies. From these forms of evidence, it is transparent that the primary designer involved in establishing the visual aesthetic for court masques was Inigo Jones; however, the King's "*Master Carpenter*" is mentioned explicitly as the visual engineer for *The Masque of Beauty*, performed in 1608 (3: 229). His influence in determining the colours seen by spectators is made explicit in Jonson's description in *Hymenaei* of how the "*design and act of all . . . together with the device of their habits, belongs properly to the merit and reputation of Master Inigo Jones*" (2: 580-81). Yet Jonson's description neglects to recognise the other individuals involved in the masque aesthetic. Indeed, Jones's own drawings made in preparation for a performance indicate collaboration. Instead of one sketch being made for each character, Jones made copies of each drawing (Simpson and Bell 26). This habit of reproduction is critical in that it opens discussion over why these duplicates were created, and Stephen Orgel has argued that this is evidence of a collaborative relationship between designer and patron, suggesting that the ink-washed sketches were necessary if Jones wanted to consult the Queen for her input into the overall design ("What" 85). Orgel and Roy Strong draw specifically on the production of *Chloridia* (1631), in which Queen Henrietta Maria played Chloris, explaining that, even though Jones did consult her majesty on the chromatics of her costume, he advised that shades of green would be most appropriate for the role (Orgel and Strong 44). The influence of masquers on costume design is evident across Jonson's repertoire,

as both Jonson's comments on masque performances and Jones's annotations around his drawings imply that the masquers' input into costume design allowed chromatic preference to tint the finished product.

Indeed, scholarship often analyses masquing costumes to uncover the colour's symbolic resonances, and yet, this is an approach that should be taken with caution.[260] There were times when colours were used to present character types, as was the case for the figure of Hymen in *Hymenaei*, but the masquers contributed significantly to costume designs, paying for their costumes themselves (Butler cxxxiv), and using their own tailors to create their garments for a performance (McDermott 4, 31; Orgel and Strong 38). Jonson's detailed annotations on the staging of *Hymenaei* implicates costumes with freedom of expression as he presents costuming as a collaborative activity, with the male costumes "*taken from the antique Greek statue, mixed with some modern additions, which made it both graceful and strange*" (2: 522-23). While Jonson writes of how the costumes exhibited recognisable features, his mention of "*modern additions*" that contributed to their strangeness implies that the inclination of the courtiers involved could create estrangement between Jonson's poetic conception, Jones's artistic interpretation of his poetry, and the visual experience in performance. Accounts of masque performances suggest that, in their stitching together of contemporary and historical fashion, courtiers sought primarily to visually differentiate themselves and to present their own wealth and status, and this often involved an attention to their costumes' colouration. For example, William Trumbull, an eyewitness of *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1611) wrote of how "Each one [masquer] wore a very rich blue band across the body, except that of the prince, whose band was scarlet to distinguish him from the rest" (qtd. in Orgel and Strong 206). The importance of colouring the costume and the collaboration involved in the process is patent in

[260] For an exploration of the symbolism of costume colours in the masque, see Ravelhofer 159-68.

Jones's sketch for the character of Queen Candace in *The Masque of Queens* (performed in 1609; see Fig. 17). Drawn lines point to different aspects of her masquing garment and these lines are labelled with individual colours. That these colour annotations are at times crossed out suggests that chromatic amendments were made in advance of a performance – "watchut" (watchet) has been crossed out and replaced with "peche coler" – amendments that were possibly made by Jones himself, or perhaps compelled by the chromatic whim of the masquers involved. Indeed, the basic wash used on the sketch, rather than a commitment to specific colours, implies that Jones expected colour changes to occur prior to a masque performance.

Fig. 17. Sketch for the character of Queen Candace. Web. 28 Mar. 2018. <http://www.elizabethancostume.net/masque/.>.

The traces left on Inigo Jones's sketches point to collaboration of another kind. Apart from the contribution of the monarchy and courtiers who performed as masquers, the colours designated to each costume appear to have been influenced by the chromatics of the masque's setting. These sketches were close enough to the scenic painters to receive splashes of their paint (Simpson and Bell 12; Orgel and Strong 38); a proximity that is indicative of how costume colours were being carefully informed by the colouration of the scenery. The descriptions of costume in Jonson's published masques frequently portray garments with colours complementary to the colours of the environment. In the performance of *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), the masquer playing January sits on a silver throne, dressed in an "*ash colour, long, fringed with silver; a white mantle; his wings white*" (3: 233). Moreover, in *Hymenaei*, Jonson describes Juno sitting up on a height, with a rainbow at her feet, within which are "*musicians seated, figuring airy spirits, their habits various, and resembling the several colours caused in that part of the air by reflection*" (2: 565-66). In both instances, colour is treated as collaborative, a weaving together of the palette of both the costumes and the scenic design as January's costume emulates the silver throne on which they sit, and the musicians are dressed in different colours to seamlessly exist as hues of the rainbow. Returning to Jonson's *Chloridia*, this masque was performed against an Edenic landscape with the stage designed like a garden, dressed in an abundance of flowers (6: 11-13). For this performance, the Queen's character, Chloris, was to be the harbinger of spring, and to have her costume predominantly green – as Jones suggested – would have been fitting for this role and for the landscape against which the Queen performed.[261]

While colour choices were made for performance by players or masquers, and playwrights or designers, these individuals were not all involved in the physical act of colouring

[261] For a discussion of this garden landscape and Queen Henrietta's role in this masque, see Tigner 152-53.

the playhouse, the properties, or the costumes. The Globe and Blackfriars had a stable colour aesthetic that would have been created and maintained by painters. There is evidence of this practice in Henslowe's Diary, which details payments to painters for the colouring of the Rose playhouse (Foakes 6-7). Shakespeare's frequent use of the terms "paint," "painting," "painted," and "painter" (as well as the lesser used but notable use of "bepaint," "bepainted," "impaint," "nose-painting," "paints," "well-painted," "temper," and indeed the staging of a painter in *Timon of Athens*) all gesture beyond the page to the material practice of colouring.[262] Shakespeare's use of "paint," a term that Karim-Cooper states is synonymous with makeup in the period (*Cosmetics* 4), could be viewed as a metatheatrical reference to the act of colouring for the performance event, as cosmetics required application by either the players themselves or tiring women prior to staging a play (Karim-Cooper *Cosmetics* 3 ; Korda, *Labors* 41), and perhaps also during a performance to touch-up makeup that had faded or become smudged over the course of a play. Shakespeare's frequent use of these painterly terms may also implicitly gesture to the theatre's reliance on professional colourists. As pigments are fugitive, fading at different rates and struggling to varying degrees with elements such as time, wind, sunlight, and moisture – factors especially relevant to the outdoor Globe theatre – playhouse colours would have required freshening touches of paint.[263] Employing painters for the upkeep of the playhouse aesthetic is, therefore, a distinct possibility, especially considering the payment of painters to transform the colour of properties. Henslowe's Diary records money "Lent unto John thare the 23 of October 1602 to paye unto the paynter of the properties"

[262] For "paint," see *Coriolanus* 5.4.22; and *Hamlet* 5.1.179. For "painting," see *Measure for Measure* 4.2.28; and *Timon of Athens* 1.1.160. For "painted," see *Macbeth* 5.10.26; and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* 4.5.6. For "painter," see *King Lear* 2.2.50. For "bepaint," *Romeo and Juliet* 2.1.128; "impaint," *I Henry IV* 5.1.80; "nose-painting," *Macbeth* 2.3.26; and "temper," see *Cymbeline* 2.3.4; and *Titus Andronicus* 4.4.108.

[263] On the fugitive nature of colourants, see chapter one.

(Foakes 218). As both the playhouse and the stage properties would have been painted with the same materials (Stevens 96), the same painters may have been responsible for both tasks, possibly carrying these out in tandem. Significantly, Henslowe's record also confirms the colouristic decisions made by either the playwright or players as it provides evidence that it was possible for the chromatics of properties to be changed from one performance to the next.

As the greatest expense for the commercial theatre, costumes were gathered from several sources, including discarded clothing from court circles, from churches, and from women who sold their garments to generate income for themselves and whose clothing was useful for the dressing of boy actors.[264] Thus costume colours were dependent, to an extent, on what was being offered and on what playing companies could afford to purchase. Indeed, Jean MacIntyre believes costumes defined the playwrights' scripts as they wrote with an awareness of wardrobe supplies (3, 219), a principle that suggests that the chromatic decisions of players and playwrights were made with in relation to *existing* costume colours available in the theatre. However, this was not always the case as there are occasions documented when costume colours were actively sought to suit the requirements of the play scripts, as *Henslowe's Diary* records payment on the 5th February 1602 for "A womones gowne of black velvet" for Thomas Heywood's "A womon killd with kyndnes" (Foakes 223). While colour decisions were mediated by the processes of acquiring costumes for performance, there is also the distinct possibility that costumes were actively coloured at the request of the theatre companies. Jones and Stallybrass describe the professional playing companies as "crucially concerned with the making and maintenance of costumes," employing professionals, including tiremen and

[264] For examples of the cost of clothing, see Jones and Stallybrass 177-78. On the use of second-hand clothing, see Jones and Stallybrass 181-95; and Korda, "Household" 185-95. In William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (1646), he explains that "Divers vestments and other ornaments of the Church" were "being turned into Players, Capps, Coates" (81).

women, tailors, and wardrobe keepers, to maintain the theatre's clothing store (177, 178; Korda, *Shakespeare's* 210).[265] These individuals could modify garment colouration, for existing colours could be altered by applied art, as Natasha Korda illuminates that women were given the role of spangling, of "sewing beads and sequins into costumes to make them appear more lustrous" (*Labors* 3), a quality alluded to in *The Tempest* with its "*glistering apparel*" (4.1).

However, in addition to modifying costumes with colourful items, the base material of costumes could be chromatically transformed. There is a "long clocke" described in *Henslowe's Diary* in 1593 as being "of woded taney" (Foakes 110), a description that suggests that the cloak's base colour of brown was transformed into blue using the dyestuff woad. How this garment is catalogued implies that playhouses may have worked directly with dyers to obtain specific colours for performances. Indeed, dyeing costumes would have been necessitous because these garments were mainly second-hand, and their colours were likely to have lost some of their saturation or to have been chromatically inflected with stains. Such wear and tear could only be furthered by time, and with the occupational hazards of performing outdoors at the Globe theatre, where costumes would be subject to sunlight, wind, and rain, factors that also impinge on colour quality, as Shakespeare's Olivia in *Twelfth Night* highlights: "'Tis ingrain Sir! 'twill endure wind and weather" (1.5.208).[266]

Shakespeare's plays provide evidence of a playwright concerned with the vulnerability of a costume's chromatics. He recognises, in addition to the natural fading of colours, the

[265] *Henslowe's Diary* mentions payments to tailors (Foakes 223).

[266] Even in his poetry, Shakespeare language is embedded with an attention to the colourfastness of clothing. In *Venus and Adonis* (*c.* 1592-93), Venus cries, "'O, never let their crimson liveries wear, / And as they last, their verdure still endure'" (505-06).

impact of staining on a costume's colouration. Pervading Shakespeare's repertoire are the terms "stain," "stains," "stainèd," "staining," and even "unstainèd".[267] While stains in Shakespeare have been explored as expressions of immoral acts or even the "bloodstained sheets of the marriage bed" (Wayne 298), the metaphorical use of stained clothing points to a sustained concern with materiality, and specifically the colour damage of costumes.[268] Although stains may have been a reality of second-hand garments, stains could have directly resulted from stage practices, such as blood effects splattering onto light-coloured clothing.[269] The latter is suggested by how Shakespeare's plays describe blood as chromatically and morally transformative. Instances include: "Our lusty English, all with purpled hands / Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes" in *King John* (2.1.321-22), and a depiction in *Richard III* of a handkerchief "steeped in Rutland's blood," which "did drain / The purple sap from her sweet brother's body" (4.4.261-63). On both occasions, colour alterations caused by blood are conveyed using dyeing imagery, explicitly in *King John* and implicitly in *Richard III* by the verb "steeped," which indicates a fabric's immersion in a bloody liquid.

It is a distinct possibility therefore, that playhouses relied on dyers to both hide staining and to create costumes with saturated colours, ensuring that costumes could be preserved and

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[267] For 'stain', see *All's Well That Ends Well* 2.1.118; *Antony and Cleopatra* 3.4.27; *Coriolanus* 1.11.18; *Cymbeline* 2.4.140; *Julius Caesar* 2.1.131; *King Lear* 2.2.431; *Measure for Measure* 3.1.200; *Richard II* 3.3.65; *Troilus and Cressida* 1.2.24. For 'stains', see *Julius Caesar* 2.2.89; *King John* 2.2.45; and *Richard III* 3.7.224. For 'stainèd', *King John* 2.2.357; and *The Tempest* 2.1.64. For 'staining', *All's Well That Ends Well* 3.7.7; and for 'unstainèd', see *Henry IV, Part 2,* 5.2.113; and *King John* 2.1.16.

[268] Thomas Middleton shows a similar concern for the staining of clothing, for he addresses haberdashers in *The Owl's Almanac*, asserting that, "White hats will take slur quickly, for their colour is labecutable, and pure black shall moulder to dirt" (1747-49), labecutable meaning "easily stained" (Rhodes 1294, n.1748).

[269] As Lucy Munro outlines, the playing companies employed substances such as the pigment vermilion, ink, or animal blood ("*They Eat*" 81), to create red, blood-like visuals.

reused for future performances. Indeed, this colouring is probable for several reasons. Firstly, as chapter one illuminated, the Globe and Blackfriars theatres were situated in districts populated with dye houses, with the proximity making the practice more likely. Secondly, Philip Henslowe, who financed the Rose and Fortune theatres, was himself a dyer (Jones and Stallybrass 179), suggesting that he had a previous connection to the theatre. Lastly, and related to the previous point, due to England's apprentice system and the lack of a theatrical guild, boy actors may have been apprentice dyers or painters, as well as the apprentice bricklayers, goldsmiths, drapers, and butchers (Jones and Stallybrass 175), bringing their colouring skills to the mechanics of the professional theatre. Between professional painters and the players' painting activity, and professional or apprentice dyers reworking costumes, the early modern playhouse was a locus of colour activity, and of gaining and practising a knowledge of colour's materiality.

Costumes were also the greatest expense for masque productions, and this expense was determined by who was involved in their procurement and colouring, and by the sophisticated colouring techniques required to create the masquing costumes.[270] Unlike the commercial theatre, colours were not applied out of necessity from wear or staining as costumes were bespoke creations, "*wholly new for the invention*," as Jonson describes them in the annotations alongside *Hymenaei* (2: 539). As abovementioned, masquers employed tailors to create costumes, but these tailors drew upon the skills of embroiderers, seamstresses, painters, dyers, and even goldsmiths, to achieve the masquer's desired colouration. Jonson records flowers embroidered onto clothing in *The Masque of Beauty* (3: 239), and the use of "oes" in *Hymenaei* (2: 532-35), and dyers and tailors must have been required to create "*mantles . . . of several-coloured silks*" and a "*fascia of several-coloured silks*" for the performance of *Hymenaei* (2:

[270] For the prices of masquing costumes, see Butler cxxxiii-iv.

675), and a "changeable garment" for a boy masquer in *Chloridia* (6: 22-23). Moreover, painters were used to create a "*robe painted full of figures*" for *The Masque of Beauty* (3: 240), and goldsmiths were involved in colouring costumes as Jonson records masquers' shoes as being of "*azure and gold, set with rubies and diamonds*" in *Hymenaei* (2: 549-50). To achieve "*several-coloured*" silks, and to set shoes with precious stones required more advanced technologies of colouring than the professional theatre. Certainly, individuals from these trades are listed in payments, as Edmund Harrison, the court embroiderer, was paid for his embroidery "under sleeves and upper bases upon aurora cullor sattin the great upper sleeves & under bases upon white satin watchet richly al over with fine silver purles and silver oes"; Patrick Black was paid for a masquing suite of "aurora Cullor and white satin embroidered with silver"; and John Knight was paid for "makeing and painting in Cullors the patterns" for a masque costume (qtd. in Simpson and Bell 17, 19). So intricate, and so specific were the colouring details provided by these trades that they were tasked with, and paid for, individual costumes.

Just as costumes were custom-made for each performance, masquing scenery was ephemeral, with temporary structures made up of multiple, extravagant, and colourful layers, but for one performance only. Because scenery was temporary, there were more craftsmen and women required on site to enable the colourful scenes and properties for each production. Jonson's published masques emphasise the colourific qualities of the masque staging, as silver thrones feature in both *The Masque of Blackness* and in *The Masque of Beauty* (2: 519; 3: 233), and *The Haddington Masque* includes "a high, steep, red cliff" (3: 259). Painters would have been required to colour such properties and scenery, employed from the Office of the Works (Butler cxxxiii), and accounts left by Inigo Jones for 1608 detail that he purchased those items required by the employed painters involved, including "*Collores*," "*Goulde*," "*Sillver*," and "*Pottes Birshes and Pensels*" (qtd. in Simpson and Bell 38). Unfortunately, the identities of most of these painters have not been recorded (Orgel and Strong 37). However, Natasha Korda

observes that one "'Joyce ffrolick,'" was paid to work as a scene painter for "'howses for the plaies'" both "'in thoffice & at the Coorte'" (*Labors* 41), and an account for *The Masque of Blackness* lists one of those painters involved in colouring for the performance: an Andrew Kerwyn who requests payment for the "'framinge and settinge upp of a great stage in the banquetting house'" and for "'paintinge the roofe overhead wth Clowdes and other devices'" (qtd. in Simpson and Bell 10). Pages of designs left by Inigo Jones bear the colourful imprints of craftsmen and women, like Kerwyn and Frolick, who helped to colour in preparation for a performance, showing splodges of their paint – of what appears to be pinks, greys, greens, blues, and browns – presumably used in painting scenery (Simpson and Bell 20, 27; Orgel and Strong 38).

Kerwyn's example reveals the practice of setting up the temporary structures, but it also highlights the complexity of the colouring required for the masque performances. Instead of blocks of colour, and instead of touch-ups of paint, these painters were required to create *trompe-l'œil* effects for features such as skies and clouds for each individual masque, and to paint these effects on a range of surfaces. In the *Masque of Beauty*, paint is shown to have been applied, not to wood, but onto cloth as Jonson explains: "Here a curtain was drawn, in which the night was painted" (3: 238). Cloth was frequently employed in masques as a form of dressing the setting as well as the masquers. In the *Masque of Blackness*, the heavens are described by Jonson as "*vaulted with blue silk*" (2: 519), in *Hymenaei*, "*a curtain of painted clouds joined, which reached to the upmost roof of the hall*" (2: 561-62), while William Trumbull recorded the opening sequence for *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1610), which included a "'very large curtain painted with the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland'" (qtd. in Orgel and Strong 206). Jonson's descriptions foreground the colours and materials used, referring to agency without naming the agents behind them, but these colourful spectacles

would have required talented painters and proficient dyers to provide the multifarious hues on show.

The range of artisans involved in providing colours for masquing costumes and scenery, and the bespoke nature of these items and structures meant that the masque-in-performance would have been a more saturated, varied, and intricate experience of colour for spectators than in the professional theatre. John Peacock has described masques as "works of art" (48), and Jonson's responses to the colours of a masque-in-performance attest to this effect. Jonson describes a masquer in the *Masque of Blackness* as exhibiting "*flesh blue, and shadowed with a robe of sea-green*" (2: 513), while on the masquers was *"ornament of the most choice and orient pearl, best setting off from the black*" (2: 514). In both descriptions, Jonson uses artistic discourse, with blue "s*hadowed*" with sea-green, and the black hue being used as a ground on which to lay the colours of pearl, like a painter choosing his or her colour combinations. What these descriptions highlight is that masquers and set designer, and painters and tailors alike were all designing for performance and that colour was vital to the effect of this design. Likewise, although the professional theatre was financially unable to compete with such colourific displays, it also invested in colour and colouring. What Jonson describes, and what is evident in both the masque genre and in the professional theatre is that colouring was a deliberate act, rather than merely incidental. This purposeful use of colour extended beyond preparations for a production and into the performance event itself, as playwrights and set designers draw on the impact of colour to engage and dazzle their spectators.

Colouristic Effects

Even as professional theatre stage-managed those colours available in the theatre, the issue remains of a disparity between the full range of colours cited in Shakespeare's plays and those that could have been realistically staged in performance. Shakespeare's writing testifies to his

attentiveness to the chromatic challenges presented by the playhouses' aesthetic and by their holdings of properties and costumes. Colour could be used for the purposes of realism in the commercial theatre, for colours uttered in words relating to properties or cosmetics or costumes could provide verbal and visual correlation, marrying aural and optical perception for theatregoers.[271] However, this correlation between colourful visuals and colourful words was not always possible, and an awareness of chromatic shortcomings is especially evident in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and specifically during the play-within-the-play; the "tedious brief" *Pyramus and Thisbe* (5.1.56). In his role as Pyramus, Bottom sets out the scene, observing: "O grim-looked night, O night with hue so black" (5.1.178). The black night is the first chromatic discrepancy of the scene as the play was performed in the outdoor Globe theatre, a space filled with natural daylight. This fabricated darkness then shrouds the action until the entrance of Starveling as Moonshine, who carries a lantern unto the stage. The chromatic transformation that coincides with this entrance is highlighted by Pyramus' declaration of gratitude:

> Sweet moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams.
>
> I thank thee, moon, for shining now so bright;
>
> For by thy gracious golden, glittering gleams
>
> I trust to take of truest Thisbe sight. (5.1.261-63)

Pyramus' gratefulness – as related by Bottom – attempts to craft a chromatic correspondence between the stage property and the script. However, the effort to create a verisimilar experience

[271] Moreover, coloured materials were used for special effects, like those required for Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and the character's "*bloody swords*" and for the "crimson river of warm blood" in *Macbeth* (1606; 1.1.142; 2.4.22).

serves to undermine it, for whilst the lantern accounts for the enabling rays, it is an insufficient signifier for the light cast by the moon because of the candle's natural, yellow hue. Indeed, an engagement with the colouration of the moon in Shakespeare's repertoire highlights that it is silver – as one would expect – and not gold, which is conjured most frequently.[272] In addition to accentuating the dramatic incompetency of the mechanicals, this staged relationship between material and linguistic signifiers of colour displays Shakespeare's self-consciousness about the importance of careful chromatic application in performance, and at the same time, his recognition of the professional theatres' limited resources for facilitating the marriage of colour words and coloured material.

Whereas the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses presented chromatic difficulties, like those staged in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, they also presented Shakespeare with a practical solution. Recent scholarship has considered these playhouses as entities, but also as public venues situated within culturally and ideologically charged precincts of early modern London.[273] For example, the Globe's location in the liberties of London and the autonomy this afforded is widely known, as is the Globe's shared geography with bear-baiting activities, brothels and inns (McMillin 75; Mulryne and Shewring 16, 18). As aforementioned, the Globe and Blackfriars were surrounded by dyeworks. Significantly, there was a pervasive awareness of the colouring activity taking place around these stages, as evinced in the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, including Ben Jonson. In his *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), Lantern characterises Leander as the son of "*a dyer at Puddle Wharf*" (4: 5.4.97), an actual

[272] Rather than projecting anything "bright" and "glittering," the moon is represented as "pale" and "pale-faced" in *I Henry IV*, *Richard II*, and *The Winter's Tale* (1.3.200; 2.4.10; 4.3.16). Furthermore, these "golden" tinges are not paralleled in any other play text, as *Love's Labour's Lost* refers to the "silver moon" (4.3.26). Indeed, within the opening dialogue of the play itself, Hippolyta refers to the moon as "like to a silver bow" (1.1.9).

[273] See Mullaney; Dillon; and Smith, *The Key* 212; and Sanders 65.

locality near Thames street and the Thames river, and within the Blackfriars precinct.[274] Moreover, the Swan theatre, located in Southwark like the Globe, was the space in which Thomas Middleton's *Courtly Masque,* or *The World Tossed at Tennis* was performed in 1620 (McGee 1406). As part of this masque, Middleton stages coloured materials as characters in a "starch scene" wherein "five Starches" appear before the audience; starches of "*White, Blue, Yellow, Green, and Red – all properly habited to express their affected colours*" (1420). But while Middleton stages colours as characters, and Jonson mentions the dyeing trade, each playhouse's milieu provided Shakespeare with a language of colour that resonated with the immediate environs.

This chromatic language is embedded throughout Shakespeare's repertoire, as his characters frequently communicate colour changes as metaphors. In *Titus Andronicus*, Aaron describes his dark acts as tempering his soul as black as his skin (3.1.204), and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon describes the "western flower" as "Before milk-white" but "now purple with love's wound" (2.1.166-67). These colour changes are also often accompanied by technical terminology for colouring, as Polonius warns Ophelia not to trust Hamlet's vows, which are of a dye dissimilar to his outward clothing (1.3.127-28); and the Duke of Buckingham in *All Is True (Henry VIII)* describes his innocence as tainted as white with a black dye (1.1.208-09).[275] But Shakespeare also implicitly draws out this chromatic industry as he draws on procedures that alter the colour of textiles. In *Macbeth,* the guards are described as "steeped in the colours of their trade" (2.3.112), and Macbeth asserts, "No, this my hand will rather / The multitudinous seas incarnadine, / Making the green one red" (2.2.60-61), drawing on a reddening verb to describe the colour change.[276] Later in the play, Macbeth describes his

[274] This proximity is evident from "The Agas Map of Early Modern London". Accessed 14.01.18.

[275] Similarly, in *I Henry VI,* Prince Harry utters, "They call drinking deep, dyeing / scarlet" (2.5.13-4).

[276] "in'carnadine, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 16 February 2018.

face as "blanched with fear," with blanched referring to a whitening or bleaching process (3.4.114).[277] Shakespeare's colour expressions present him as an individual who ruminates colour in terms of its materiality, especially as a colourant. Moreover, underlying Shakespeare's mechanical language of colour is a belief in his audience's collective awareness of the socio-economic investment of these theatre sites in colouring, and/or the individual audience member's own experience of colouring. Experience that may have been drawn from makeup application, adding colour or removing stains from clothes, tinting ink or pages, or creating colourful food, as discussed in chapter one, or even, given the locality of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, of spectators who earned a living from the surrounding dyeing industry. It is also a possibility that players and audience members passed numerous dye houses on their way to the performance event, informing their sensory experience of the theatrical environment as they gazed upon the scenes or inhaled the smells of colour changes, especially given the pungent smells that could emanate from colouring processes.

Shakespeare's practice of invoking the audience's awareness of his playhouses' local, and colourful environs is particularly prevalent in *The Tempest*, a play that was performed in several spaces, including the Banqueting House at Whitehall, but was written specifically for the Blackfriars and the Globe (Vaughan and Vaughan 6; Hulme and Sherman 3). Scholars have tended to examine the aural effects of the play as Virginia Vaughan and Alden Vaughan, for example, write that the play's "atmosphere" is "created largely through sound" (9, 17-18).[278] But Shakespeare's magus figure of Prospero presents himself as a manipulator of all five senses (5.1.53), equally concerned with controlling sights as he is aural experiences, and indeed, many

[277] In Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, Autolycus sings of a "white sheet bleaching on the hedge" (4.3.5); "blanch, v.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 16 February 2018. Def. 1.a.

[278] For scholarship that also considers the aural experience of this play, see Jones 36; and Dustagheer *Shakespeare's* 102-22.

of the special effects throughout the play are visual: the "*banquet vanishes*" (3.3); a masque of Iris, Ceres, and Juno is performed (4.1.60-117); and Stefano and Trinculo are enamoured with the presentation of "*glistening apparel*" (4.1) Significantly, the storm that *The Tempest* opens with is provided with both an aural *and* a visual quality. Miranda's observation is visual, but it is also colourful, as she states, "The sky it seems would pour down stinking pitch" (1.2.3). The "pitch" that Miranda believes is about to descend is a "sticky . . . black or brown substance," often used as a sealant for ships, but also a substance that could be burnt to procure black (Jarman 26).[279] Upon asking her father about his culpability in the unfolding scene, Prospero describes it as a "direful spectacle" (1.2.26), but as Miranda's perception highlights, Prospero's powers figure him not only as an illusionist, but as a colourist.

Just as Prospero paints an illusion of blackness for Miranda, Shakespeare attempts to make his spectators think they have *seen* non-present colours during the performance. In a play thoroughly engaged in the blurring of reality and illusion (Vaughan and Vaughan 5-6), Shakespeare endeavours to create what is now understood to be "induced colour": a phenomenon where the "eye and brain think they are seeing [colour] even though it is not actually present" (Bomford and Roy 15). This experimentation in colourful optical illusions is made transparent in *The Tempest*, as the audience are expected to believe that a chromatic transformation has occurred between Act 1.1 and Act 2.1. In the opening scene, the audience is introduced to Gonzalo, Sebastian, and Antonio during their terrifying experience of Prospero's tempest. When the characters make a reappearance, wrought with wonder in the aftermath of the shipwreck, Gonzalo observes: "our garments being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness and glosses, being rather new-dyed than stained with salt water" (2.1.64). What Gonzalo describes – and what the audience is expected to

[279] "pitch, n.2." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 20 June 2016.

believe – is that the garments of the survivors are of a deeper chromatic saturation than they were before the shipwreck. To facilitate this belief, Shakespeare draws from the discursive realm of colour technology, exploiting the practice of dyeing fabrics in the theatres' surroundings: the sea is reimagined as a dye-bath or dye-vat, while its natural salts emulate the function of those minerals employed as common mordants - substances responsible for fixing the colour to cloth. Spectators of the performance are given the opportunity to challenge Gonzalo's observation, as he asks of his sovereign and fellow courtiers – but also the audience – "Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first / day I wore it?" (2.1.101-02). While the audience is aware that Prospero uses Ariel to manipulate sight, they had been carefully primed for this optical illusion. Unlike other sights in the play, this is one that Ariel confirms as true: "On their sustaining garments not a blemish, / But fresher than before" (1.2.119-20). Just as Prospero's illusions include colour, so too do Shakespeare's, as he positions himself as a playwright who can conjure colour for the audience during a performance.

While Shakespeare's plays create colourful effects through words, masque audiences expected, and revelled in, elaborate optical displays. Indeed, the staging of Prospero's masque scene in *The Tempest* reveals the priorities of a masque audience, and consequently, the demands placed on the scenographers involved in each masque's production. As Lauren Shohet highlights, Prospero instructs his masque audience to remain silent, reprimanding Miranda and Ferdinand with "Hush, and be mute" (22-23; 4.1.126). But despite Prospero's protestations that they should pay attention to the dialogue, Miranda and Ferdinand's verbal utterances during the performance are suggestive of an audience more willing to spectate than listen, more attuned to the visual experience of the masque as opposed to the verbal. The visual appetite of the affluent masque audiences was the main concern of the predominant masque designer, Inigo Jones, who, as John Peacock's study *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (1995) illuminates, prioritised the innovation in England of perspective techniques to

manipulate the spectators' faculties of sight.[280] Indeed, Jones's use of colour is connected to creating realism, whether employed for the purposes of perspective as Peacock outlines, or unlike the fumbling staging in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Jones has at his disposal colours that can be used to create realistic imagery for his and Jonson's audiences; Jones's moon in *The Masque of Blackness* is "*triumphant in a silver throne*" with "*garments white and silver*" (2: 519). But the primary use of colour in the masque-in-performance was for impact, to inspire wonder and awe in the spectators.

Eyewitness accounts of the masques-in-performance expose the masque designers' preoccupation with prismatic phenomena. From these descriptions, it is evident that the principal designer behind Jonson's masques, Inigo Jones, and the engineer of *The Masque of Beauty*, the King's Master Carpenter, used reflection and refraction to highlight *and* to manufacture colour during performances. The narrative of each masque hinged on transformations and revelations, and in many ways, colour is a visual that performs these thematic currents, and more specifically, *luminous* colour: colour that is "usually seen through a transparent medium – such as stained glass or coloured plastic – with a light source behind it" (Batchelor, *The Luminous* 50). Indeed, while the masque designers carefully considered how to use the interplay between coloured costumes and scenery, and reflective surfaces, it is luminous colour that is created during a masque-in-performance, and it is the luminous colouration that evokes the most wonder from spectators.

The most detailed accounts of prismatic phenomena in the masque are provided by Jonson, as technologies of colouring are exhibited throughout his repertoire in the textual commentary that accompanies his poetry. Jonson explains that in the *Masque of Beauty* (1608), behind the masquers, was a throne and "*in the centre of the throne, was a translucent pillar,*

[280] See McDermott 28.

shining with several-coloured lights that reflected on their backs" (3: 238). Moreover, the masquer portraying Serenitas carried a crystal "*cut with several angles and shadowed with diverse colours, as caused by refraction*" (3: 239). In the *Masque of Queens,* performed in 1609, the staging included diaphanal lights, which are lights shining through glasses of coloured liquid. Shining light through the glasses would have transformed the tinted liquids, creating a spectacular movement of jewel-like colour on the House of Fame (Simpson and Bell 14; Butler cxxxvii). As he recorded the performance of *Hymenaei*, Jonson describes:

> *the sphere of fire in the top of all, encompassing the air, and imitated with such art and industry as the spectators might discern the motion, all the time the shows lasted, without any mover; and that so swift, as no eye could distinguish any colour of the light, but might forme to itself five hundred several hues out of the tralucent bodie of the air, objected betwixt it and them.* (2: 574, 575-79)

These examples reveal the various purposes to which colouristic effects were used, and the complexity of the luminous colour effects employed by the masque-in-performance. At times, colour was used to highlight the masquers, acting as a kind of spotlight, focusing the audience's attention on the courtiers taking part. On other occasions, colours were used to correlate with the opulence of the courtly setting, as the diaphanal liquids exhibited a jewel-like quality. But most frequently, colours were created during performances to dazzle the audience. The use of *bozze*, or diaphanal liquids, has the effect of projecting "coloured washes and spots" (Johnson 34), and Jonson recalls how the "sphere of fire," interpreted by David Lindley as "whirling circles of lights" (689), emitted a kaleidoscope of changing colours around the masquing space. Coloured lights also colour what they fall on, and so both effects would have meant that the environmental colouration would have been transformed, if only momentarily, by the casting of colour. Red, for example, appears brown or even black when viewed under yellow-tinged light (Hunt and Pointer 73). As a result of the experimental use of luminous colours, masquers

and courtiers alike must have felt that they were part of an ever-changing canvas, awash with colour, unsure of the next artistic outcome from one moment of the performance to the next, or indeed, from one masque to the next.

That spectators viewed not just colour but also colour transformations during masque performances is further evident from the eyewitness accounts of William Trumbull and Sir Francis Bacon. Trumbull, who relates his experience of *Oberon, The Fairy Prince*, describes the movement of colour in performance, highlighting a scene when "'the rock opened discovering a great throne with countless lights and colours all shifting, a lovely thing to see'" (qtd. in Orgel and Strong 206). Similarly, Sir Francis Bacon's "*Of Masques and Triumphs*" in his *Essayes* (1625), draws attention to the playful use of colour in masque performances, stating:

> Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light,* specially *Coloured* and *Varied:* And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene,* haue some Motions, vpon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. (224)

Both men convey their rapture at the effects of colour and light, providing descriptions that highlight the novelty of this luminous colour experience. Bacon's use of the imperative as he calls for the use of colourful lights emphasises how these effects both delighted and were desired by spectators as an extraordinary feature of the masque performance. Indeed, Jonson described the colours emitted from the "sphere of fire" in *Hymenaei* as "*the most taking in the spectacle*" (2: 574). While modern science recognises that luminous colour, as is the case for all colour, is a direct result of light, in pre-Newtonian England, spectators would not have ruminated the colours experienced in this way. Certainly, Bacon describes the light as "specially *Coloured*," and Jonson ascribes the agency for the colour to the "*tralucent bodie of*

the air" (579). The colours were valued as material qualities, and equally valued because they were ephemeral. The colours existed, as Jonson describes, for "*the time the shows lasted*" (2: 575), and Trumbull depicts the colours as "all shifting". As masquers and courtiers revelled in destroying the scenery at the end of each performance, it is likely that the colouration summoned during a performance was equally as pleasing because it was transitory, and because the court were the privileged viewers of what would be an unrepeatable sensory experience: as David Batchelor explains, luminous colours are experienced "as an *event*" (*The Luminous* 52).

By attending to luminous colours and verbal colouration respectively, the masque and the professional theatre each reveal their engagement in chromogenic activity – in the production of colour *during* a performance. Both forms of performance present experimental use of ephemeral colours as they test the limits of colouring-in the production environment. While for Shakespeare, these ephemeral, verbal, colours rely on the audience's cultural understandings of colour – that they can draw on their sensory awareness and sensory experience of the substance of colour and the wider performance environs, for the masque designers, Inigo Jones and the King's carpenter, these ephemeral colours rely on the spectator's wonderment at their inconceivableness. Whether the colours were uttered and understood, or seen and bewildering, they provided early modern performance with an enhanced and a pronounced colour experience.

Performing in Colour

William Shakespeare's repertoire and those masques scripted by Ben Jonson and designed primarily by Inigo Jones, make it apparent that colour was fundamental to early modern performance. Just as colour literacy was fostered by professional and domestic colouring, sites of performance also encouraged an intimate engagement with colour's materiality. Both the commercial theatre and masque form involved the careful rumination of colour schemes, a

collaborative colour effort, and the inclusion of chromogenic activity. In both, colour impacted on the mechanics and appearance of early modern performance as it influenced how a writer approached the page; it influenced pre-performance decisions; and it was used to create spectacles for those who attended. Colour was not the result of incidental splattering or daubing. Colour was ruminated, and colour was applied with deliberate strokes with either – and sometimes both – a paintbrush and a quill.

The stimulus of textual colours – of "verbal pigments" – was paramount to the creative impulses of the early modern playwright. As previous chapters have revealed, conjuring colour via language was significant in the formation of a playwright's narrative. Certainly, the sensuous character of colour was drawn upon in *Arden of Faversham*, and bright hues and tints were actively employed by dramatists to evoke the exoticism of foreign lands. Colour, as these examples and Shakespeare's repertoire reveal, offered the playwright a practical means both of manoeuvring the stable architectural aesthetic of the playhouse and of projecting alternatively coloured environs. Shakespeare's repertoire presents a playwright who was distinctly experimental with colour, drawing on his audiences' colour literacy to formulate his own language of colour; a language that simultaneously engaged his spectators in an act of imaginative re-colouration.

Re-colouration was also predominant in the masque-in-performance, as scenery, costumes, and chromogenic lighting effects altered the quality of colour visually tangible to courtiers. As testified by a range of eyewitnesses, including Jonson himself, one of the most extraordinary aspects of the masque-in-performance was colour. Indeed, such was colour's powerful presence that Jonson singled it out for condemnation in his *Expostulation with Inigo Jones* (1631). "Painting and Carpentry are the soul of masque" (6: 50) Jonson protests, as "You ask no more than certain politic eyes, / Eyes that can pierce into the mysteries / Of many colours" (6: 45-47). Colour, Jonson maintained, eclipsed his poetry, but as he attempts to

undermine colour in writing, he both records and re-enacts its significance for his contemporary and future readers.

Conclusion: Reviewing the Palette

In her study, *The Early Stuart Masque* (2006), Barbara Ravelhofer asks: "Is colour simply not serious enough to merit critical attention?" (157). A neglect of colour as the locus of literary study to date would suggest this, and yet colour has been treated as a subject for critical investigation by numerous disciplines, including philosophy, art history, and anthropology.[281] While, as Michel Pastoureau explains, colour was not considered to be an intellectual enough subject of enquiry in the mid-seventies, more recently, colour has been considered "serious enough" for the scholarly community at large, and certainly, as this thesis has profiled, colour was "serious enough" for early modern English men and women, as colourful matter *mattered*.[282] Colour was for many a livelihood; colour was a domestic necessity as well as a domestic pastime; colour was believed to impact upon how people worshipped; colour sent groups of people to unknown lands at immense cost; and colour was central to the phenomenon of performance – colour was "serious enough" for early moderns residing in England. Moreover, that colour is observed in this thesis in such a generic diversity of texts is testament to the imperative placed on colour during the early modern period, but also to the imperative on scholarship to *read* colour in literature, rather than to treat it as merely descriptive or as an adjunct to the main point. Colour is not only the tool of the artist, colour has, as I quoted in my introduction, "a vivid life outside of the realm of art" (Gage, *Colour and Meaning* 9). Colour was and is, quite simply, a meaningful part of visual, material, *and* textual mediums of expression.

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[281] See the thesis introduction, "An Early Modern Colour Index," for a thorough discussion of current colour-criticism.

[282] For Pastoureau's reflections on colour in academia, see the thesis introduction, "An Early Modern Colour Index," 10n11.

As this study promotes further enquiry into colour in early modern literature, and indeed, literature in general, it emphasises the unique insights offered by a literary study of colour for current colour studies, and specifically, a literary study of colour that is polychromatic and historically and culturally specific. This thesis highlights that scholars will benefit from attending to the palette in its entirety – to undertake a polychromatic approach rather than tracing the experience of, or attitudes towards, a single colour. As evidenced in this study, colours in lived experience are not compartmentalised; instead, a range of colours are viewed (or indeed, as chapter one revealed, smelt, touched, or tasted) and imagined in each of the colourscapes investigated. Certainly, across the chapters explored in this thesis, it is the choice of colour and the interplay of colour that mattered to early modern English men and women, as evident in the writings they have left behind. As they detail their colour-experience and colour-conceptions, early moderns reveal their "party-coloured mind" (Marvell, "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland" 106), as they debated colour selection and application, as well as their literary imaginings of a "thousand rare encolourings" (Herrick, "The Kisse" 2). This thesis highlights that singling out one colour narrows the scholar's perspective and indeed, is a contrived exercise, which often means having to bring into the foreground other colours, or to simply disregard the other hues and tints that appear alongside the scholar's chosen colour in a single text: a monochromatic study, in essence, divulges more of the scholar's colour-preference than the writer's.[283] By attending to the full colour palette,

[283] This insight has been as much gleaned from my own experience of writing about colour as from reading the studies of other researchers. In my Masters' dissertation, I focused on red in Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* (1594) and Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598). What I discovered was the chromosaturation of these texts, and a frustration that I was overlooking a significant wealth of colour references to serve my own purposes. Consider, for example, how in *The Rape of Lucrece*, Lucrece's face is a "silent war" of red and white (71). Indeed,

literary scholars can examine the colourific aspect of everyday experience for early modern English men and women, as well as attend to the relationship between colours and colour-combinations, and early modern writing.

In addition to a varied palette, this thesis exhibits that reading colour in literature is most effective when the writer's use of colour is situated within the relevant historical and cultural context. While engaging with colour in literature has traditionally entailed quantitative methods or colour-symbolism, and most recently colour capacity and colour agency, an attention to the context of colour has been commonplace in other disciplines. John Gage has stated: "The art historian must, I think, be more concerned with the local context of colour-ideas as they relate to the artist under consideration" (*Colour and Meaning* 43), instilling in art scholars the importance of context to colour in art. This thesis' exploration of colour in early modern English literature and culture advances that what is practised in art history should be paralleled in literary considerations of colour. As a direct reformulation of Gage's statement: "The literary scholar must, I think, be more concerned with the local context of colour-ideas as they relate to the writer under consideration". The most appropriate approach to colour in literature, therefore, is to examine colour instantiations in light of the writer's cultural circumstances.

As this thesis' emphasis on colour in early modern England has ascertained, colours in literature bear the undertones, and certainly, can engage directly with the experience of colour in a given culture. Indeed, throughout this study, the reciprocal relationship between colour's materiality and those who wrote about or with colour has been uncovered, as both material colour and early modern writers were active participants in constituting and reshaping the

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drawing on other colours to illuminate the example of one colour is exampled in Bruce R. Smith's *Key of Green* as he explains that "red needs green to enforce its demand" (69).

chromatic index and chromatic glossary of the period. Written sources highlight that different colourscapes, whether actual or conceptual, acted as stimuli for early modern writers who drew on their diverse experiences of colour's materiality – their sensuous, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual connections with colour – as they wrote. Chapter one of this study, for example, revealed how the material properties of colourants had a direct impact on how early moderns conceived of colour in their writings, as writers from William Shakespeare, to John Donne, to the anonymous writer of *Arden of Faversham* evoked the smelly, tactile, and evanescent experience of colour. Likewise, literature circulating in early modern England stimulated multifarious connections with and responses to colour's materiality. Nowhere is the stimulus of colourful words more predominant in this thesis than in relation to the New World, as mind-travellers paralleled the amplified colours of travel accounts in their writings. As both colourful stuff and colourful words acted as stimuli to colour experience, this thesis' examination of the materiality of colour and literary instantiations of colour has enabled an attention to the early modern period's nuances of colour-understanding, as well as to its significant historical changes in colour-perceptions and, uniquely, to the personal reactions to these vicissitudes.

This thesis has highlighted that colour was ubiquitous, influential, and persuasive: colour was a source of interest across social spheres; it acted as a catalyst to action, as it inspired and was used to justify colonisation of the New World; and colour was a source of contention, as the Church confronted colour's place in worship. In its exploration of five different colourscapes, it has become apparent that the theatre was a crucible for colour; a crucible for acquiring and dispersing colour literacy, for exhibiting colour, and for exploring colour's material and figurative potentiality. Certainly, across this study, dramatic examples are ubiquitous, uncovering, and interacting with, the nuances of colour in each of the colourscapes explored within this thesis, including the workplace, the household, the Church, and the New World. As well as revealing the theatre's heightened awareness to colour, the prevalence of

dramatic examples in this study illuminates the importance of theatre as a rich and exciting source for colour exploration.

This thesis, of course, has its parameters. For instance, its exploration of colour is restricted by the dates under consideration. Concentrating on the pervasive colour-instances in earlier or indeed later examples of early modern literature will enable and widen the discussion of colour in the period's literature.[284] There are several colour-illustrations within this thesis that themselves stimulate further exploration, and indeed, present other literary scholars with opportunities to consider colour in the period further. For example, the relationship between early moderns and colour as a result of reading and writing offers a fruitful line of enquiry, for as chapter one revealed, the writer's awareness of colour was imprinted by the act of writing, and as chapter two highlighted, there is a ubiquity of colour in texts composed for, and consumed by, early modern women. As this study has illumined the importance of colour to performance, colour and theatre is a particularly compelling subject for future discussion and other playwrights or performance spaces could be investigated for their use of colour.

Alternatively, a consideration of colour could involve charting one writer's conception of colour across their involvement in different literary genres. Other vistas for colour discussion include the relationship between colour and medicine in the period, as colour is often presented as an indicator of ill-health, as well as the connection between colour and politics in early modern England.[285] There are fascinating instances when colour is used to participate in political currents. For example, during the English Civil War, women who protested the

[284] Certainly, a consideration of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688) in the conclusion of chapter four revealed the literary representation of the New World continued to involve heightened colouration.

[285] Isham's diary, for example, which was considered briefly in chapter two, records reflections on colour and sickness.

conflict donned ribbons of white silk as an assertion of their desire for peace, while coloured ribbons were worn by women who supported the Leveller cause, who chose sea-green as their hue of political signage (Fraser 86, 289). Moreover, this thesis has concentrated on colour in the period's English literature and culture, meaning that further topographical examples remain to be explored for their own shades of colour-signification.

This thesis' chapters propose that early modern scholars, and literary scholarship in general, give cultural and textual colour its due: it has provided scholars with the critical capacity to approach colour in literature by introducing an accessible vocabulary of colour; and it has substantiated that colour was, and continues to be, a significant experience and a powerful vehicle of expression, and one which speaks of the context in which it was penned. Subsequently, literature not only presents us with responses to colour but in its rearticulations of colour acts as a significant stimulus in connecting both early moderns – and researchers of the period – to colour. There remains a wealth of colour discourse yet to be explored and colour's academic potential is still to be realised in the burgeoning field of colour in literature. This thesis provides an easel and canvas upon which other literary scholars can explore and express their chosen era's connections with and responses to colour, and as a result, literary scholars will be more readily able to engage with, and certainly, decisively contribute to, the wider scholarly community's attentiveness to colour. Colour has long held our attention, and this should be evidenced in the wealth of literature involved in its discussion.

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